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PETIT MAL ELECTRO-SHOCK THERAPY
OF CRIMINAL PSYCHOPATHS

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It has become increasingly evident that the grand mal type of electro-shock therapy is much more effective than the petit mal. In selected cases, however, petit mal or a combination of petit mal and grand mal therapy⁽¹⁾ may be indicated. Electric shock, heretofore used principally in the treatment of major psychotic states, recently has been reported to be an effective adjunct in the therapy of neuroses⁽²⁾. The purpose of this study is to evaluate the clinical, electroencephalographic and psychological changes consequent to a series of electrically induced petit mal reactions in non-psychotic, but psychopathic patients. Petit mal treatments were selected as a prelude to further studies with grand mal. Twenty-four cases who received five or more treatments are reported in this article.

The patients were residents of the Psychopathic Unit of the Medical Center for Federal Prisoners, under commitment for a variety of offenses. The median age of the group was approximately 22 years. In each case it was the unanimous opinion of the local Neuropsychiatric Staff that the patient showed qualitative and quantitative evidences of marked criminal psychopathic trends in his personality structure and behaviour.

Treatments were administered two and three times weekly on a completely voluntary basis and only with the full consent of the patient who had the privilege of stopping therapy at any time. Patients

* From the Medical Center for Federal Prisoners, Springfield, Missouri.

were urged to continue for a full course of 20 shocks but many stopped prematurely; 269 treatments were given, an average of slightly more than 11 shocks per patient. Careful preliminary physical, X-ray and EKG studies were made in each case. The technique of administration was that recommended by Kalinowski⁽¹⁾, using a standard Rahm instrument with the duration of the shock measured by a surge current recorder. With each treatment the operator attempted to give sufficient stimulation to produce a severe petit mal reaction but not quite enough to produce a grand mal convulsion. The depth of the petit mal response can be judged by the length of apnoea, duration of unconsciousness, amount of muscular response, and degree of confusion and retrograde amnesia immediately following the treatment. In administering a slightly sub-convulsant stimulus, one may inadvertently exceed the threshold and among the 269 treatments, a grand mal response obtained on 17 occasions. Variations in interelectrode resistance and possibly a tendency in some individuals to increase their threshold require changes in the voltage and timing which must be determined individually at each treatment by the operator. Patients undergoing treatment did not receive any additional special therapy.

Clinical Impressions During Treatment

Immediately prior to the stimulus with the electrodes in situ most patients exhibited some uneasiness and apprehension. A few of them later expressed a fear that "something might go wrong with the apparatus" and one expressed distrust of the operator. The degree of anxiety was probably no more than observed among patients about to submit to any minor surgical procedure. No severe fear reactions or feeling of impending death so commonly encountered with metrazol were observed. There was no recollection of the moment of application of the current except in one instance where a very small petit mal reaction was recalled by the patient as "being painlessly hit in the head". Headaches were not encountered except by one individual with chronic headaches associated with otitis media (Cast 24). Vomiting was noted on two occasions, but only following grand mal seizures. Except for muscle soreness, patients could not accurately tell whether the reaction has been of the petit or grand mal type. Between treatments it was common to observe a favorable subjective response, particularly in regard to sleeping better and feeling less nervous. It is noteworthy that during the course of treatments, none of the patients displayed

tantrums, outbursts of emotionality, or became involved in adverse behaviour difficulties so characteristic of their usual adjustments. General emotional tone and rapport seemed slightly improved. The usual reason for discontinuing treatment was a fear that the transient memory defects and confusion which followed each treatment, might become permanent and result in a serious mental disability.

The emotional pattern assumed after regaining consciousness following each shock was rather stereotyped for the particular patient, but varied widely in different subjects. Case 21 persistently showed extreme fearfulness and panic for about 30 seconds, whereupon he became very pleasant. Case 22 was always bewildered and refused to talk for an hour after each treatment. Case 20 showed a very pleasant euphoric reaction together with a fear that he may have made incriminating statements while regaining consciousness. Case 24 displayed a stereotyped outburst of hilarity and loud euphoric conversation lasting for a half hour after each treatment, very much in contrast to his usual surly manner. Case 12 was the only one to demonstrate a variable pattern immediately following shock; twice he was aggressively belligerent, but on other occasions very pleasant. Among 11 cases there was a noticeable trend toward euphoria and playfulness which was commonly described as "it feels like waking from a spree."

Six Months Follow-Up

Six months following completion of the course of treatments, an attempt toward critical evaluation of the clinical results was made; Table I shows a brief estimate of the subjective and objective impressions. The objective estimate is the consensus of two psychiatrists and two attendants intimately acquainted with the daily progress of each patient. Progress was evaluated by apparent alterations in attitudes, behaviour, and a careful check on the patient's institutional adjustment. Four patients appeared improved, seven were slightly or doubtfully improved, and the remainder were regarded as unimproved. None showed evidence of regression or exaggeration of psychopathic behaviour. Subjectively, six patients felt improved, two regarded themselves as being worse, but the majority felt that no material change had been accomplished. One patient (Case 18) with constant obsessive sexual sadistic ideas associated with frequent daily masturbation reported freedom from obsessive ideas and no desire to masturbate during the first seven treatments. Thereafter he relapsed and at the end of six months be-

lieved himself little changed. Case 14 reported complete relief from frequent terrifying nightmares. Three patients reported that when dozing they were subject to severe involuntary jerks of their muscles and one saw flashes of white light. No petit or grand mal seizures have been observed in these latter cases as a complication.

Electroencephalographic Results

The EEG findings are summarized in Table II. Before therapy the electroencephalograms of 23 of the 24 patients were classified as normal in 3 (13.0%), borderline abnormal in 5 (21.7%) and abnormal in 15 (65.3%). This proportion of dysrhythmic EEG's (87.0%) is slightly higher than found generally in our psychopathic population⁽⁸⁾. Post-treatment EEG's were obtained from one week to three months after completion of therapy. There was a distinct tendency in six toward exaggeration of electroencephalographic abnormalities—to increase the number of delta sequences, to introduce new slower frequencies (3 to 4 per second rhythms) and to increase the number of spike potentials. Two tracings were changed from borderline to abnormal. However, the phenomena were reversible, for recheck some months later revealed that all EEG's had returned to the pre-shock level. An example is given in Fig. I. Two EEG's were rated as slightly improved following therapy due to diminution in the number of spike potentials. The remaining electroencephalograms were essentially unchanged before and after treatment (Fig. II). There was no observable correlation between the clinical and electroencephalographic responses to the therapy.

Wechsler-Bellevue and Rorschach Results

Eight of the patients were rated on the Wechsler-Bellevue Intelligence Scale prior to the administration of shock therapy. Almost a year later these same individuals were re-examined. In order to evaluate the gain resulting from practice effect a control group of eight cases was studied. Individuals in the control group were matched member for member with the treated group on bases of tested intelligence (full scale), age and degree of psychopathy. The mean elapse of time between the initial test and re-test for the treated group was ten months (range eight to fourteen months) and for the control group thirteen months (range ten to seventeen months). The treated group averaged 13.6 treatments (range 5 to 24 treatments).

Table III contrasts the test results of the treated with the control group. Attention is called to the fact that every member of the treated group attained a higher Wechsler-Bellevue full scale I. Q. rating on the re-test (mean increase of 9.8 I. Q. points) as well as consistently higher scores on both the verbal and performance portions of the Bellevue Scale. On the other hand the control group showed only a full scale gain of 4.2 I. Q. points on re-test. The difference between the two groups (5.6 I. Q. points) might conceivably be due directly to the effects of electro-shock therapy.

Mean subtest scores obtained by the Wechsler-Bellevue Scale have been arranged into the form of a psychogram for the treated group. (Fig. III) and the control group (Fig. IV). Attention is called to the similarity in profile patterning for both groups on the initially given test. A previous study carried out on a much larger group at the Medical Center also showed this rather typical profile among criminal psychopathic patients⁽⁴⁾. The treated group showed a greater gain and considerably less scatter resulting in a more normal profile, indicative of improved mental functioning. The gain has been relatively large on tests of Object Assembly, Arithmetical Reasoning, Picture Completion, Picture Arrangement, Digit Span, Comprehension and Similarities and relatively small on tests of General Information, Block Design and Digit Symbol.

There were four subjects who had been examined by the Rorschach method prior to treatment and who were re-examined from eight to eleven months after treatment. A control group, matched member by member with the treated group on the basis of number of Rorschach responses, was re-examined within an average interval of 6.6 months. The findings for both groups are given in Table IV. It is extremely interesting to note that the treated group of psychopaths showed much greater productivity on the second Rorschach examination with an average individual gain from 11.7 to 33.7 responses. In contrast the control group showed a gain from 11.7 to 12.0 responses. Detailed Rorschach data, which is similar to that found in a larger group of psychopaths⁽⁵⁾, for the treated and untreated psychopaths are presented graphically in Figs. V and VI. Fig. V shows the composite distribution graphs of the major Rorschach determinants in the four cases examined before and after shock. It is observed that the increased productivity is fairly evenly distributed over most of the major determinant categories. The basic personality structure has remained the same

after treatment except for the marked dilation. On the other hand the control group (Fig. VI) shows no essential change on retesting.

Discussion

The lack of tangible morbid phenomena makes it difficult to evaluate improvement in psychopaths. The most objective clinical evidence, psychopathic behaviour, can only be judged over an extended time. Even then to be properly evaluated observation should include the post-institutional adjustment. In addition psychopaths may "spontaneously" improve for short periods of time. Therefore the clinical improvement in the four cases reported in this paper must be viewed as tentative. The results are sufficient to justify further experimentation with grand mal shock, especially since the latter is so far superior to petit-mal shock⁽¹⁾. However, electroencephalographic findings indicate the necessity for cautious use of this therapy in psychopaths. Petit-mal shock therapy did not alter the EEG of psychotics after 24 hours⁽⁶⁾, but eight of the twenty cases studied showed increased EEG abnormalities for a matter of several months in some cases, even though there was a return eventually to the pre-shock appearance. It may be inferred then that the abnormally functioning brain of the psychopath is more sensitive to the physiologic effects of shock therapy than the brain of the psychotic. The above is consistent with the suggestion, based partly on drug experimentation⁽⁷⁾, that there is a relationship between psychopathic personality and epilepsy.

The Wechsler-Bellevue data should dissipate any notion that petit mal shock therapy damages the psychopath's intellectual capacity and functioning—on the contrary these cases showed improvement. However, trend tendencies rather than conclusions may be inferred from the small number of cases studied here. A strong motivation factor may be another possible explanation for the increase in I. Q. points. These patients were extremely interested in their retesting, since post-treatment confusion lead them to believe that their mental capacities were diminished. The Rorschachs of four patients consistently showed a change from exceedingly low to normal productivity, a dilation similar to that reported⁽⁸⁾ in the Rorschach of psychotics after shock therapy. This may indicate a release from disabling constriction, even though there was no fundamental alteration of personality structure. This lack of basic change in the psychopath closely parallels the clinical and electroencephalographic evaluations of the patient's status months after therapy.

Summary and Conclusion

Twenty-four criminal psychopaths were given a series of petit-mal electro-shocks (average 11) and the results were evaluated from the clinical electroencephalographic and psychometric viewpoint. The following conclusion seems warranted: shock therapy may be of value in the treatment of criminal psychopaths and further experimentation with grand mal rather than petit-mal therapy is indicated.

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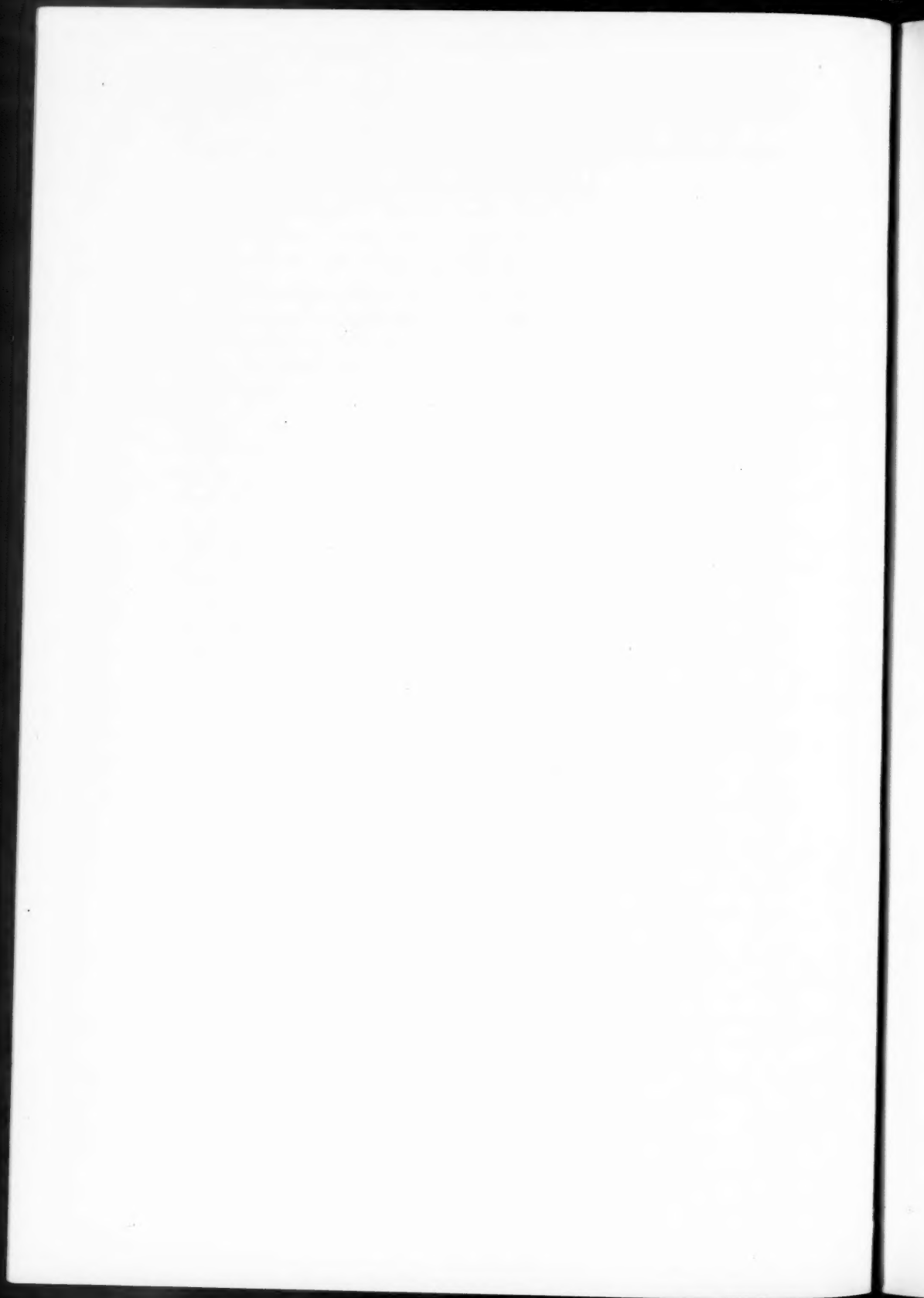
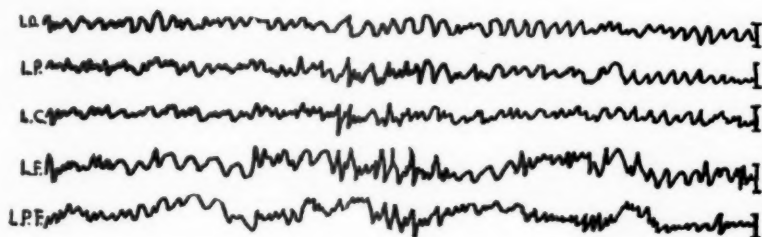
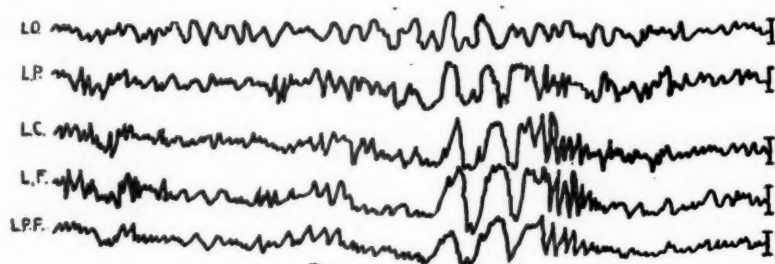


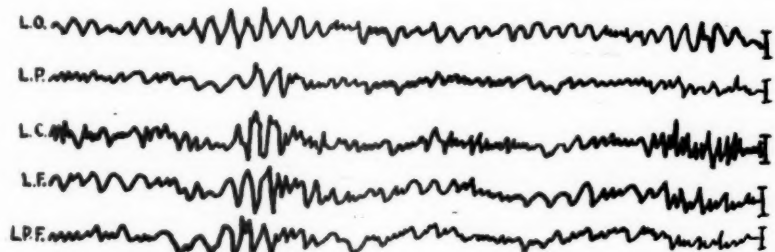
FIGURE I
Case 22 20 Treatments



A. Before Treatments



B. Nine Days After Completion of Therapy



C. Three Months After Completion of Therapy



One Second

Monopolar Leads Calibrations 50 μ v.

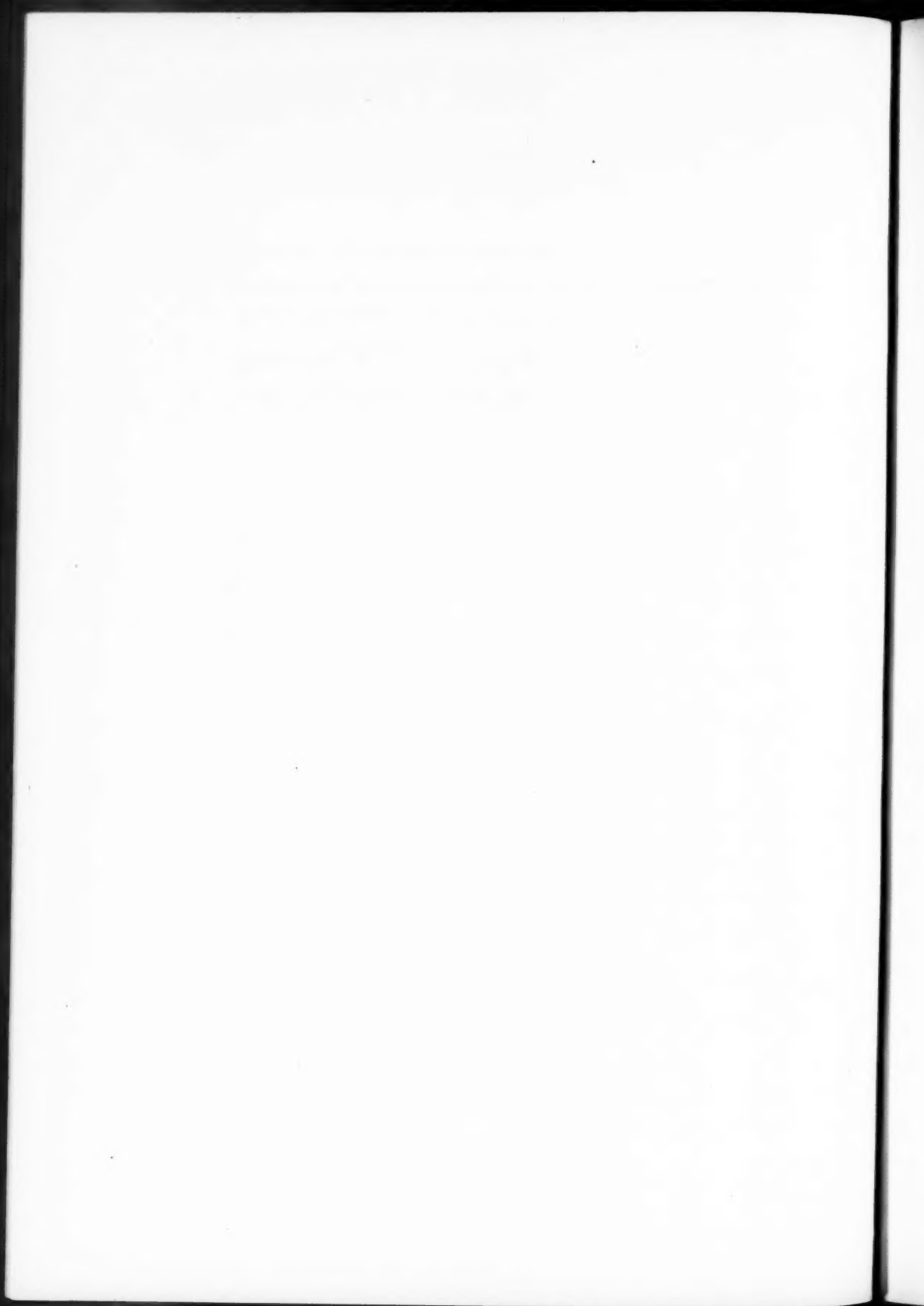
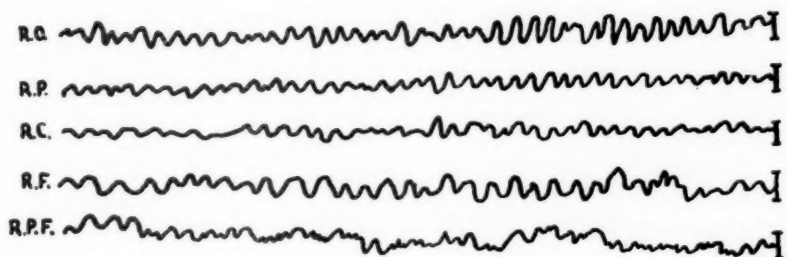
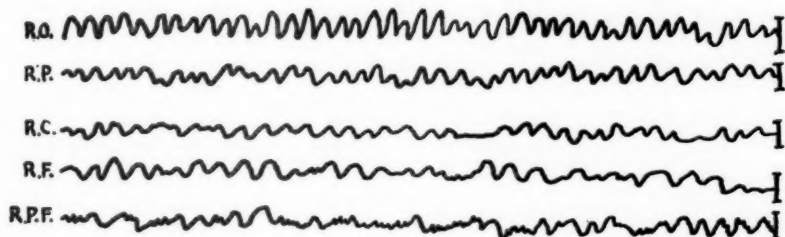


FIGURE II

Case 24 - 24 Treatments



A. Before Treatments



B. Eight Days After Completion of Therapy

One Second

Bipolar Leads

Calibrations 20 μ v.



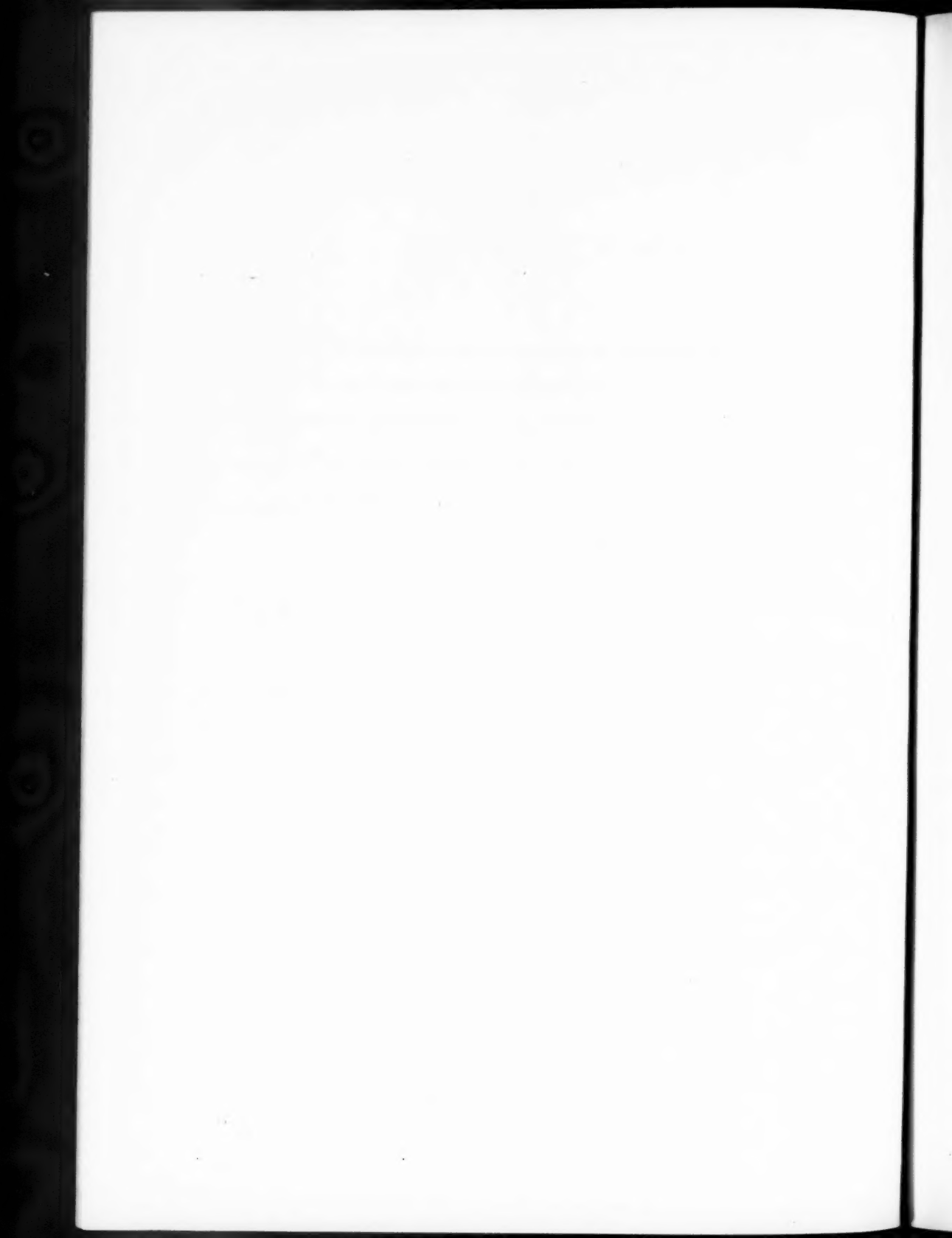


Figure III

ELECTRIC SHOCK THERAPY GROUP (8 CASES)

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INITIAL TEST

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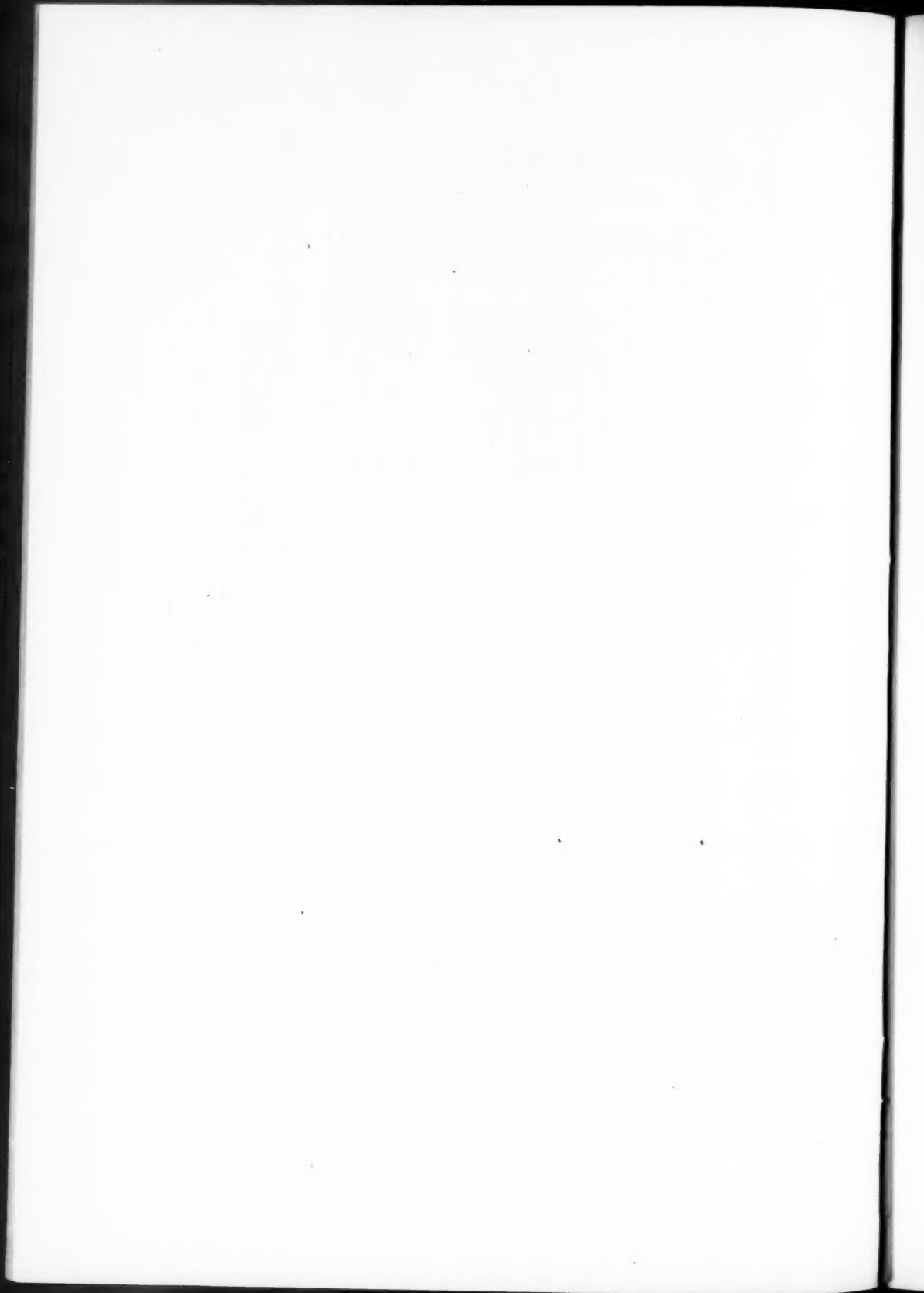
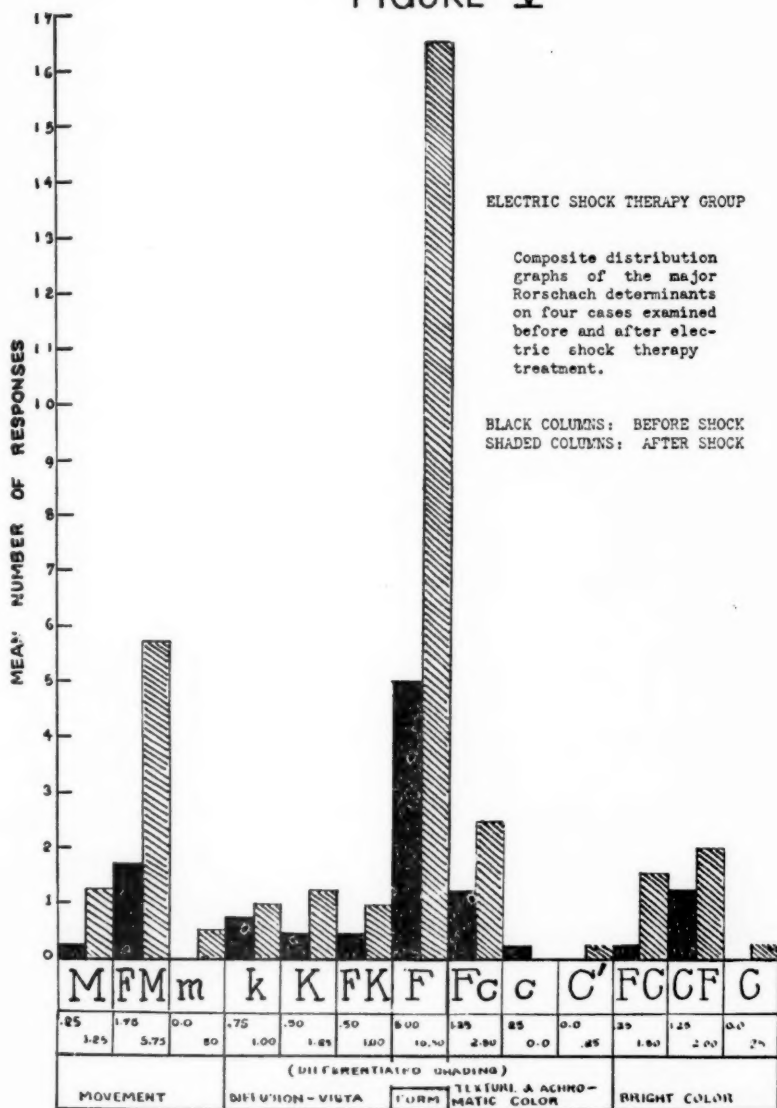


FIGURE V



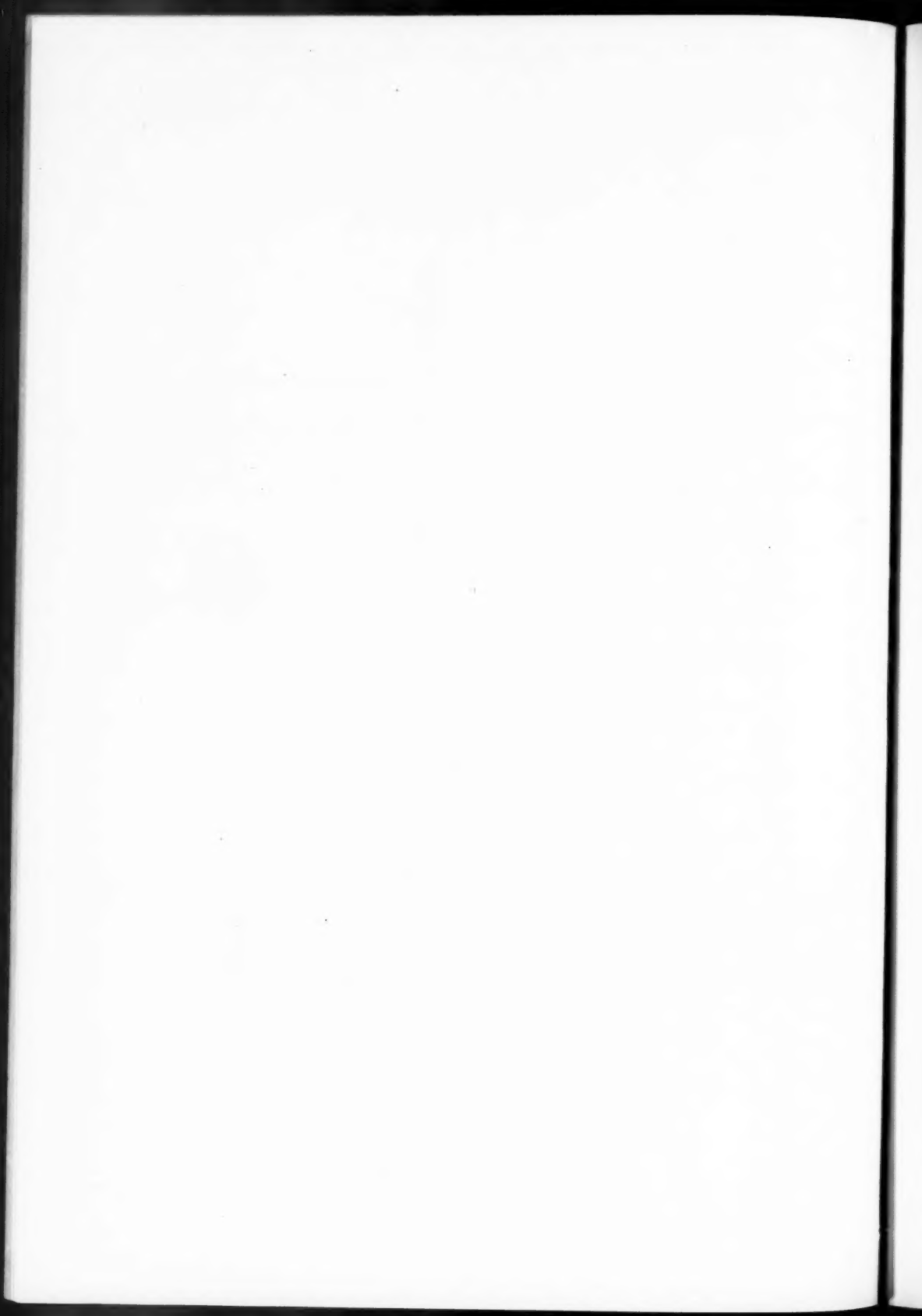


FIGURE VI

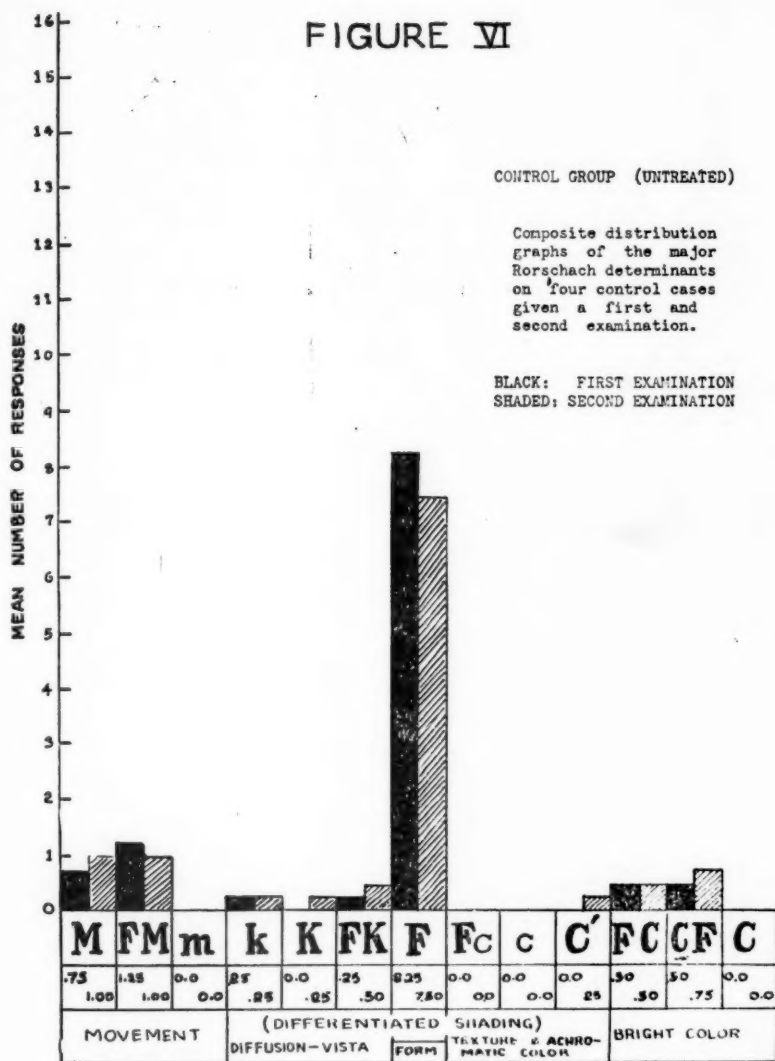


TABLE I
CLINICAL RESPONSE

Case Number	Age	Petit Mal	Grand Mal	Total Shock Treatment	Usual Reaction Immediately After each Treatment	6 Months Follow-up; Objective Change	6 Months Follow-up Subjective Impression of Change
1	22	5	0	5	Indifferent	Un-Imp.	"No change, muscle jerks at night"
2	21	5	0	5	Indifferent	Un-Imp.	"No change"
3	30	5	0	5	Indifferent	Un-Imp.	"No change"
4	25	5	1	6	Pleasant	Un-Imp.	"Better in every way especially for the first two months"
5	26	6	1	7	Pleasant	Un-Imp.	"No change"
6	23	7	0	7	Pleasant	Un-Imp.	"No change"
7	20	5	2	7	Indifferent	Un-Imp.	"No change"
8	23	7	0	7	Indifferent	Un-Imp.	"Don't masturbate nearly so much but can't concentrate"
9	22	6	1	7	Pleasant	Sl. Imp.	"No change"
10	22	8	0	8	Pleasant	Un-Imp.	"No change"
11	24	9	0	9	Pleasant	Sl. Imp.	"No change"
12	22	8	1	9	Mixed	Un-Imp.	"No change"
13	24	8	1	9	Pleasant	Un-Imp.	"No different"
14	26	9	1	10	Euphoric	Un-Imp.	"Slightly better, no more nightmares, now have color dreams"
15	19	10	1	11	Pleasant	Imp.	"Can concentrate better, sleep better, don't think about sex or masturbate as much"
16	21	11	1	12	Pleasant	Un-Imp.	"Don't blow up like I used to"
17	18	14	0	14	Euphoric	Un-Imp.	"Better self control, less impulsive but memory in mathematics and spelling poor"
18	22	15	0	15	Pleasant	Imp.	"No change"
19	30	16	0	16	Euphoric	Imp.	"Much better self control, better in every way, muscles jerk at night"
20	26	16	1	17	Euphoric	Sl. Imp.	"Less nervous, better self control, can concentrate better"
21	22	18	1	19	Fearful	Sl. Imp.	"More relaxed, more like myself, dream more"
22	22	19	1	20	Bewildered	Imp.	"Much better in every way, can concentrate and think clearly"
23	22	18	2	20	Euphoric	Sl. Imp.	"Can't read as much, can't concentrate, body jerks when dozing"
24	21	22	2	24	Euphoric	Sl. Imp.	"About the same or worse"

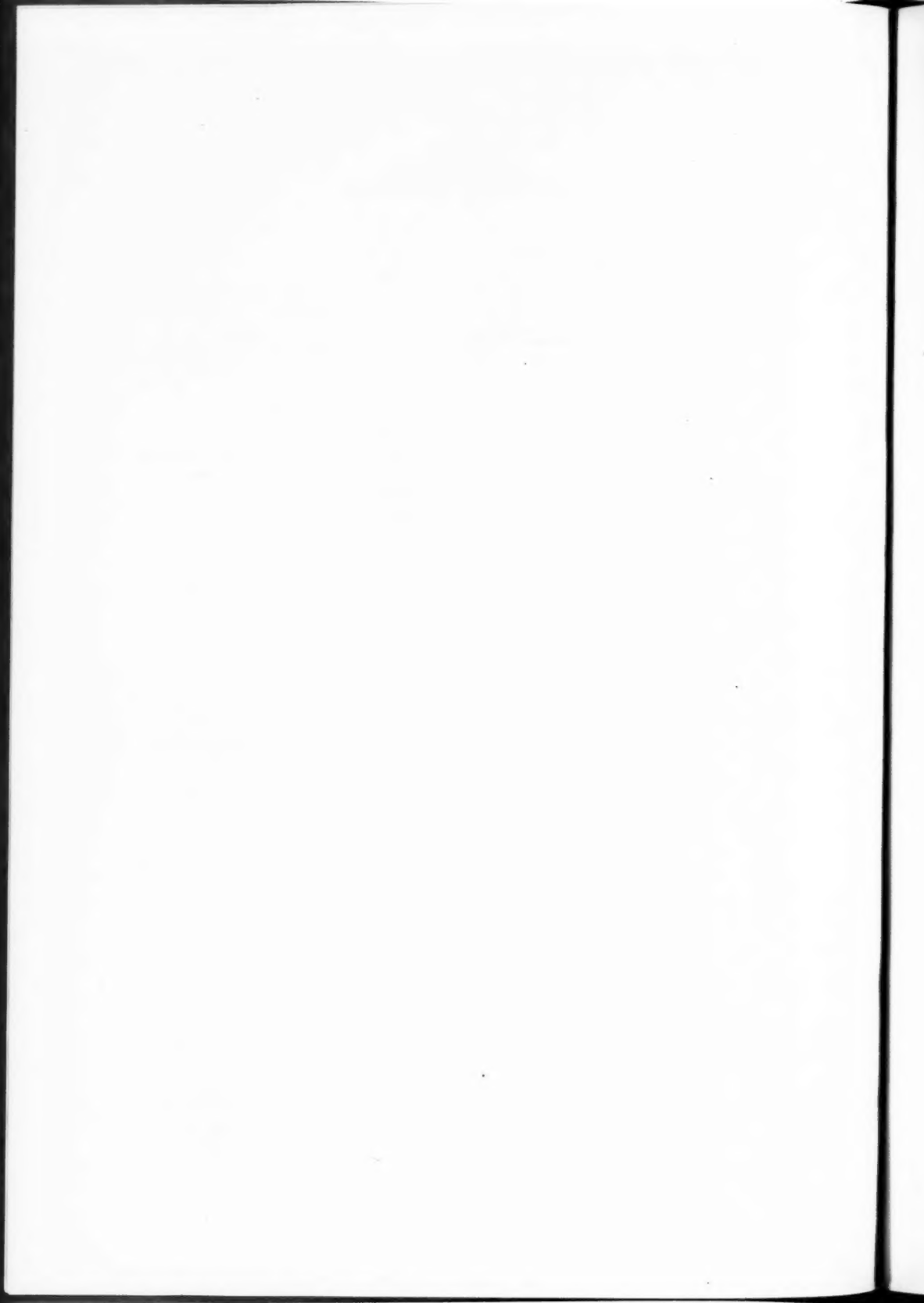


TABLE II
ELECTROENCEPHALOGRAPHIC FINDINGS

No. Case	Classification of E. E. G.	Characteristics of E. E. G.	Number of Treatments	E. E. G. after Shock Therapy	Recheck E.E.G. 3 or more Months Later
1	Abnormal	Spikes Posterior	5	Refused	.....
2	Normal	Dominant Alpha	5	Refused	.....
3	Refused	.....	5	.....	.....
4	Normal	Subdominant Alpha	6	No Change	.....
5	Abnormal	6/sec. Delta Anterior	7	Refused	.....
6	Borderline	General Arrhythmia	7	No Change	.....
7	Abnormal	6/sec. Delta Anterior	7	No Change	.....
8	Borderline	Arrhythmia Anterior	7	Worse; abnormal; 6/sec. Delta Anterior	Returned to Original
9	Abnormal	6/sec. Delta Anterior	7	No Change	.....
10	Normal	Dominant Alpha	8	No Change	.....
11	Abnormal	4/sec. Delta Diffuse	9	Slightly worse; More Delta Activity	Returned to Original
12	Abnormal	6/sec. Delta Anterior	9	Slightly worse; 4/sec. Delta Diffuse, spikes	Refused
13	Abnormal	6/sec. Delta Anterior	9	Slightly worse; 4/sec. Delta Diffuse	Better, still but 4/sec. activity
14	Abnormal	4/sec Delta Anterior	10	Slightly improved; Fewer Spikes	Same
15	Abnormal	Spikes Posteriorly	11	No Change	.....
16	Abnormal	6/sec. Delta Anterior	12	No Change	.....
17	Borderline	Arrhythmia Posterior	14	Worse—Abnormal; 4/sec. Delta Diffuse	Returned to Original
18	Borderline	Arrhythmia Posterior	15	Slightly improved; Fewer Spikes	Same
19	Borderline	Some Spikes	16	Slightly worse; Poorer organization	Returned to Original
20	Abnormal	Arrhythmia Anterior	17	No Change	.....
21	Abnormal	6/sec. Delta Anterior	19	No Change	.....
22	Abnormal	4/sec. Delta Diffuse	20	Slightly worse; more Delta Activity; spikes	Returned to Original
23	Abnormal	7/sec. Delta Anterior; Spikes	20	Slightly worse; more Delta Activity; spikes	Returned to Original
24	Abnormal	6/sec. Delta Anterior	24	No Change	.....

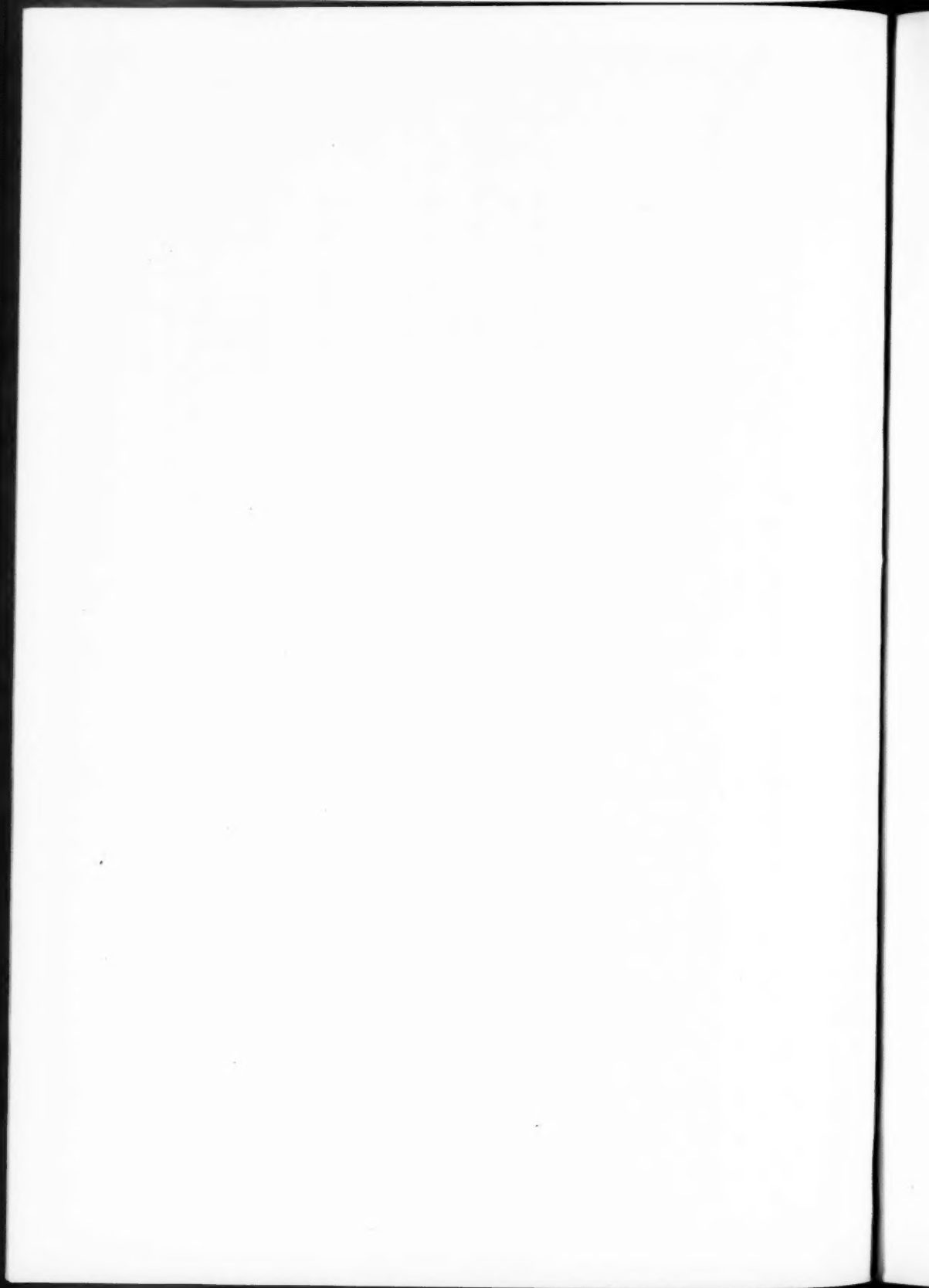


TABLE III
WECHSLER-BELLEVUE DATA

Electric Shock Therapy Group (8 cases)	Control Group—Untreated (8 cases)
<i>Wechsler-Bellevue Full Scale I. Q. Scores</i>	

Case No.	Initial Test	No. of Treatments	Retest	Case No.	Initial Test	Retest
1	106	5	111	1-C	101	99
10	108	8	115	10-C	109	120
12	103	9	124	12-C	102	105
14	131	10	133	14-C	125	127
19	89	16	98	19-C	85	91
20	115	17	123	20-C	114	121
23	103	20	119	23-C	103	108
24	108	24	117	24-C	105	107
MEANS	107.8	13.6	117.6	MEANS	105.5	109.7
		(I. Q. Gain 9.8)			(I. Q. Gain 4.2)	

Wechsler-Bellevue Verbal Scale I. Q. Scores

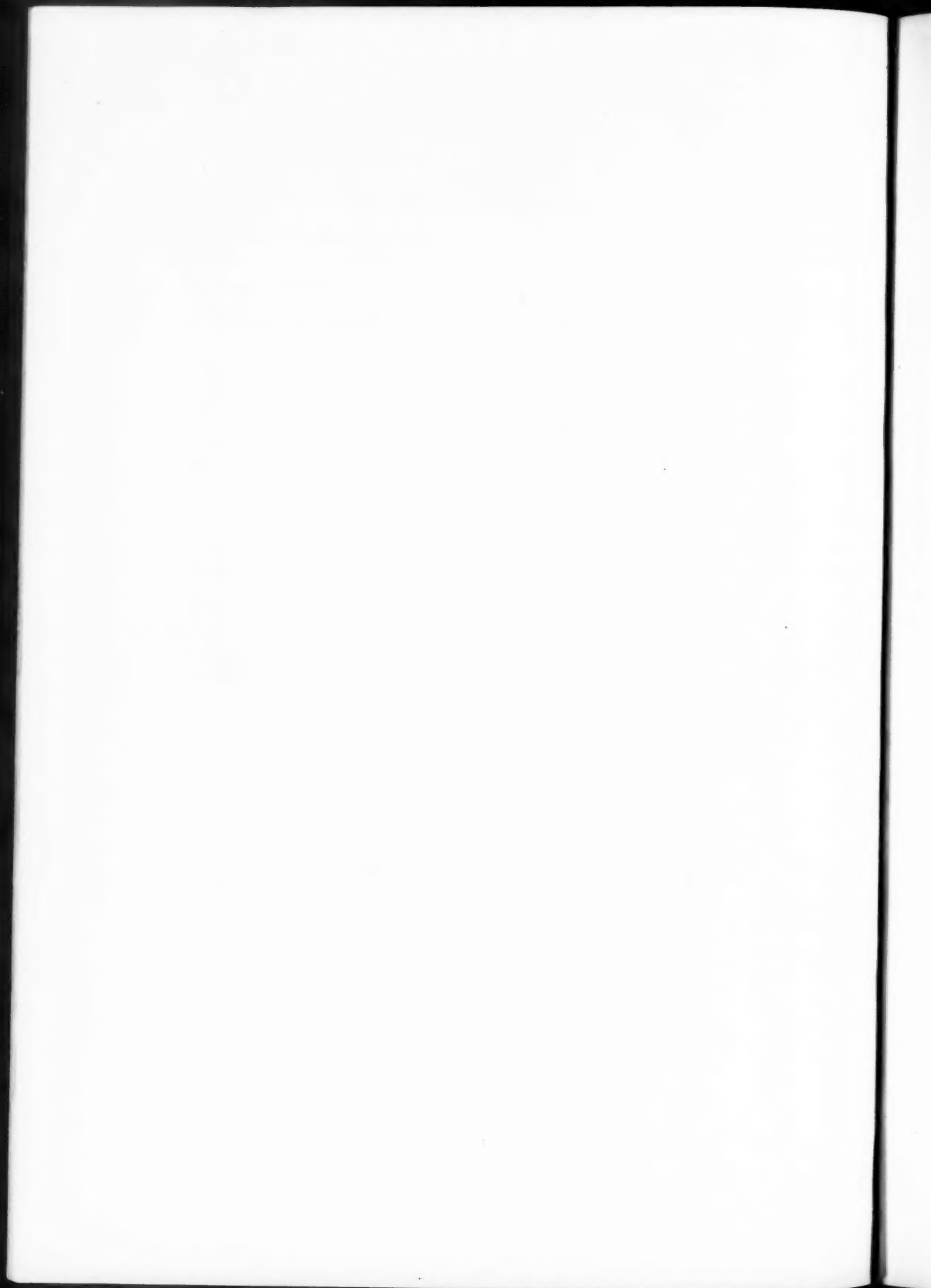
1	104	111	1-C	90	89
10	103	105	10-C	104	110
12	113	129	12-C	93	100
19	98	110	19-C	89	91
20	121	125	20-C	110	124
23	105	116	24-C	104	110
24	110	116	24-C	106	101
MEANS	110.6	118.0	MEANS	102.7	105.6
		(I. Q. Gain 7.4)		(I. Q. Gain 2.9)	

Wechsler-Bellevue Performance Scale I. Q. Scores

1	109	113	1-C	113	111
10	113	115	10-C	114	128
12	92	114	12-C	113	110
14	126	128	14-C	124	130
19	81	85	19-C	84	92
20	105	116	20-C	117	124
23	100	119	24-C	102	104
24	104	114	24-C	104	113
MEANS	103.7	113.0	MEANS	108.8	114.0
		(I. Q. Gain 9.3)		(I. Q. Gain 5.2)	

TABLE IV
RORSCHACH DATA

Treated Group (4 Cases)				Untreated Control Group (4 Cases)		
Case No.	Responses Before Shock	No. of Treatments	Responses After Shock	Case No.	Responses First Examination	Responses Second Examination
10	13	8	37	10-C	13	19
12	10	9	20	12-C	10	12
14	10	10	34	14-C	10	10
19	14	16	44	19-C	14	7
Totals	47	43	135	Totals	47	48
MEANS	11.7	10.7	33.7	MEANS	11.7	12.0



PSYCHOPATHOLOGY OF IMPOSTORS

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I. Few clues in few publications

Psychoanalytic contributions toward the understanding of the psychology of impostors are, despite some publications on the subject,⁽¹⁾ scarce. The reason for this is the same as that discussed in a previous paper⁽²⁾ pertaining to analytic contributions to problems of criminality in general—lack of clinical experience. Impostors, for instance, just do not come into treatment voluntarily, or, if forced to come, do not cooperate and do not stay long in treatment. The best case history of an impostor, that of K. Abraham,⁽³⁾ is of a patient whom the analyst saw while in military service in a field hospital, without having the opportunity to analyze him. In general, what H. Deutsch stated in 1922⁴ still holds true: "The psychoanalysis of impostors did not materialize." That is practically the only fact concerning the psychology of impostors about which there is complete agreement.

F. Alexander includes impostors in his conception of the "Neurotic Character."⁽⁴⁾ He mentions two cases, one a man pretending to be a physician, the other, a churchman. Both of these men tried to reduce society or great institutions, such as the State and the Church, to absurdity. Alexander speaks of repressed hatred of the father projected on society, stressing the self-damaging tendencies of these people. The same approach is used in Alexander and Staub's "The Criminal, the Judge, and the Public:"⁽⁵⁾ "The neurotic character, whether he does or does not come into conflict with the existing law, is a sick man who suffers from a neurosis without symptoms" (p. 120). "... to this same group further belongs those who are designated by medico-legal au-

(1) I refer to papers by Freudians exclusively.

(2) "Suppositions about the Mechanism of Criminosis", *J. Crim. Psychopath.*, V. 2, 1943.

(3) "History of an Impostor", *Imago*, XI, 1925. An attempt at evaluation of this work is found in Chap. III of the present paper.

(4) "Der Neurotische Charakter", *Int. Zeitschr. f. Psychoan.*, XIV, 1928, p. 32,

thorities as morally deficient, and whom Bleuler, in his textbook of psychiatry, designates as psychopathic personalities; these are the excitable, unstable, impulsive individuals, the eccentrics, the liars, and swindlers, the enemies of society, the querulous fighters. Those who fall under the older category of moral insanity also belong to the group of neurotic characters" (p. 121).

The Swiss Psychoanalytic Society held in 1935 a symposium on the topic of impostors and published the results.⁽⁶⁾ The speakers were H. Zulliger and H. Meng; S. Bally, A. Kielholz, and O. Pfister took part in the discussion. The special issue of the *Journal for Psychoanalytic Pedagogies* also published a list of papers dealing directly or (mostly) indirectly with problems of impostors, to which I would refer the reader interested in that subject. The chief result of the symposium was the conclusion that impostors belong to the group of "narcissistic psychopaths" and the investigation of the differential diagnosis of the depictions of narcissism, (Freud's "libidinous types") partly belong the lines of the work of Reich and Aichhorn, partly from another point of view. No direct conclusions were reached about the predisposing childhood situation of impostors, since none of the eight cases discussed by the speakers, mainly delinquent adolescents, had been analyzed at all or for any length of time. In some of these cases the mother was spoiling the only child; in some, the father was an aggressive educator. Nor were conclusions reached about the role of the Super-Ego in the psychogenesis of impostors; Bally, for instance, was of the opinion that the narcissistic psychopath had "no conscience," whereas Pfister proved in his cases that strong fears did appear on the surface.

F. Wittels⁽⁷⁾ noted: "The impostor has a demoniacal and uncannily successful wish to please. He wishes to be amiable and he is." Basically, Wittels believes that the psychopath "confuses opposites which can as well be called polarities: love and hate (murder), mine and yours (theft), true and false (lie), reality and imagination (imposter) . . . His thinking is built upon one cardinal mistake, a particular inability to understand vital contrasts . . . This incapacity comes from a biologic polarity not definitely settled, the polarity of male and female." In another

(5) MacMillan Co., New York, 1931.

(6) "Zeitschr. f. Psychoan. Pädagogik", IX, 3, 1935. It is difficult to summarize the work of that symposium, partly because of its vagueness, partly because of lack of space. See the original.

(7) Kleptomania and Other Psychopathic Crimes", *J. Crim. Psychopath.*, IV, 2, 1942.

paper⁽⁸⁾ Wittels expresses the opinion that the criminal psychopath is rooted in the phallic phase.⁽⁹⁾

S. Keiser and W. Bromberg studied the psychodynamics of a group of 50 "swindlers" examined in the Psychiatric Clinic of the Court of General Sessions between 1933 and 1937. In their paper, "The Psychology of the Swindler,"⁽¹⁰⁾ the authors clarified one important point: the psychological technique used by swindlers to influence their victims. The conclusions of the paper are:

"The swindler is an hysterical individual who obtains substitute gratification through living out a high social position, such as that of a physician, nobleman, entrepreneur. Another and more common type obtains gratification through less symbolic means, by tricking their credulous victims out of money. In all swindlers there is a basic personality deviation which approaches the obviously hysterical psychopath on the one hand and the masked neurosis on the other . . . Beyond the psychopathic character of the swindler we wish to emphasize the universality of the basic psychological mechanism to be found in the victims of swindlers. One can call this the "swindle situation." The crux of this "situation" consists in the attempt to impair the censor function of the victim through stimulation of his fantasies. Pursuing this somewhat further, we have found that the swindler utilizes a form of psychological approach akin to seduction, as he stimulates the fantasy of the victim through thinly-disguised homosexuality or perverse sexuality, or through more common methods utilizing magic, mystery, secrecy, or scientific intricacy. What the swindler manages to do is to offer an outlet for the fantasy of the victim, and wishes and impulses known to be unethical or actually criminal are released under the concededly "fascinating personality" of the swindler. In a sense, these artifices allow the swindler to take control of the conscience of the victim, allowing the release of feelings of greed. It is noteworthy that most of the victims are notoriously saving individuals, moralistic, law-abiding citizens . . . In considering the psychodynamics of the offender himself, we have found that basic conflicts often bring him into the arena of swindling. These conflicts may relate to ambivalent attitude toward the parents. They are expressed by unconscious hostility which is reflected in actual life reactions. Swindling, for some of our cases at least, served as a substitute gratification for this hostility. By identifying all men with the father

(8) "The Criminal Psychopath in the Psychoanalytic System", *Psychoan. Rev.* 1937.

(9) A. N. Foxe, in his clinically important and revealing book, "Crime and Sexual Development" (Monograph Editions, Glens Falls, 1936), expresses the opinion that forgery, swindling, and extortion are "criminoses in reaction" and relates extortionists to the oral and, partly, anal levels.

(10) *Am. J. Psychiatry*, Vol. 94, No. 6, May, 1938.

and women with the mother, this complicated neurotic reaction observed in our offenders is brought to the surface. The unconscious hostility of the offender is expressed in a subverted way. Instead of taking its form in open aggression, as in crimes of assault, robbery, or outright theft, this feeling is expressed indirectly . . . This veiled aggression, under the guise of submission, is a point of some importance in the psychology of the crime of swindling . . . The type of approach we have described belongs in the category of the so-called "feminine" psychology . . . The swindler, with his elegance of dress, his superficial culture, urbanity, and suavity can hence be aggressive under his outward passivity. As far as the inner psychology of the swindler is concerned, this "passive technique" serves at one and the same time his unconscious masochism and his desire for mastery over the dominant influences in the early environment (father) and the present environment (public)."

The authors stress the pathologic sex life of these offenders. None of the cases was analyzed; in one case psychoanalytic material is offered, stressing the phallic castration complex and the failure of the oedipus resolution.

Another general difficulty in the psychologic evaluation of impostors is the lack of clarity in terminology. Specialists of forgery, swindling, bankruptcy, extortion, impersonation of officials—all of these "criminotics" (Fuxe) are in some papers mentioned as representing separate entities, in other papers all included under the heading of impostors⁽¹¹⁾ or, more often, "psychopaths." In other words, not even the problem of terminology with regard to impostors has been fully solved.

II. *Twelve Descriptive Characteristics*

The impostor has specific *descriptive* characteristics which, as far as I can determine from my cases and from the literature, comprise the following:

1. *Social climbing.* The impostor is "one who imposes upon others by an assumed character or false pretensions" (Webster). Interestingly enough, the term applies only to persons pretending to be more

(11) Ben Karpman in his impressive monograph, "The Individual Criminal" (Nerv. & Mental Disease Monographs 59), describes in great detail 5 "criminal insane" cases, at least 2 of which (Cases IV and V) show a connection to impostors. One of these persons impersonated a U. S. officer and attempted to extort money; the other was under sentence for forgery of government checks and impersonation of a U. S. officer. The terminus technicus "imposter" is not used; however, Karpman gives an instructive description of Babelian confusion of terms concerning "psychopaths", pointing out the inherent contradictions (pp. 181 ff., 1. c.).

socially than they really are; it never includes persons who pretend the opposite. Kalif Harun-al-Raschid in the disguise of a merchant would not be called an impostor by the admiring crowd if discovered. In German the word "Hochstapler" expresses exactly that social-climbing: "hoch" means "high," and the old "stapfen" means "to walk;" in other words, "a crook pretending to be of higher social circles" (Meyer). What the phrase basically refers to is the swindling of money or of social acknowledgment or both through the pretense of being "somebody" by someone whom—to quote an impostor—the "snobbish outer-world" would consider a "nobody."

2. *Charming, disarming behavior* inspiring confidence by firmness and self-assurance and winning everyone's friendship. Women, especially, are charmed by the occasional feminine trends in these men, finding narcissistically some unconscious similarity to themselves. There are cases on record where a man of this type has married three women, has been sent to jail because of his trigomy, and still has not incurred the anger of his wives "because he was so charming."

3. *Sense of humor of specific type.* Among the bag of tricks of the impostor is always a peculiar ironic twist which makes fun of social institutions or prejudices, reducing them to absurdity for his own inner purposes. A classical example is the cause célèbre of the "Captain from Kopenick." In 1906 a shoemaker, disguised in the uniform of a Prussian captain, confiscated the municipal money in a suburb of Berlin. He was able to steal this money only because nobody doubted the right of a Prussian officer to do what he pleased; no one was suspicious, since respect for the uniform in the Kaiser's militaristic state was universal. Cleverly capitalizing on that prejudice, the "Captain" even mobilized a whole company of soldiers for his purpose. Ironically enough, the ironic twist in his action brought about his pardon later. On hearing the report of his conduct, the Kaiser laughed and considered it a compliment on his successful education of the populace in militaristic respect. The same ironic twist has been psychologically correctly represented in Sascha Guitry's "History of a Cheat." In it a boy is punished for some puerile cheating by being sent to bed without supper. The next morning the remainder of his family die of poisoned mushrooms eaten the evening before. The irony in this story is that the punishment for good morals is death; the reward for bad morals is survival.

4. *Pseudo-identification-mimicry*. The impostor plays the role he has designated for himself with utmost confidence, as if he really *were* the person he would personify. His identification is that of an actor. On the other hand, he is always aware of his faking, inwardly making fun of the disguise and the people who are taken in by it.

5. *Bombastic braggadocio*. Every impostor presents his fake-story convincingly, with or without false modesty; his sureness is the prerequisite of his success. His feigned conviction reminds one superficially of certain childhood lies. However, the fact remains that the impostor never believes his own story; he is full of conscious irony toward the people who believe him, and derives a great pleasure from "pulling their legs."

6. *Infantile approach toward time*. The impostor does not have the normal person's consideration for the future. His yardstick is today and today's hour only. This tendency is visible, for instance, when he is discovered in his cheating. He maintains appearance until the last second. In one case a young girl patient was caught, years before entering analysis, attempting to swindle in a store, having given her name as that of a wealthy acquaintance. The store manager faintly remembered the woman whose name she was assuming, and called that woman by phone. Until the last second the girl pretended to be that woman. The manager, and later the judge, were completely at a loss to understand what advantage lay in the continuation of the pretence for a few minutes more, especially since it could serve only as an aggravating circumstance to consider in passing judgment.

7. *Pose of "having a good time" covering depression*. The impostor gives the impression of being an everlasting optimist, and often pretends to himself that he is happy.⁽¹²⁾ He derives, to be sure, a good deal of conscious satisfaction from ridiculing his environment through his successful fake. Below this thin layer of pleasure in irony, deep depression is hidden, sometimes directly visible in the cheater when he is seemingly unobserved.⁽¹³⁾

(12) Meng (1. c., p. 174) suggests that the impostor regresses "to the time of *satisfied narcissism*". I cannot subscribe to that view.

(13) Impostors conceal their depression well, even before psychologic observers. Bally (1. c.) states: "We also call the narcissistic psychopath sick *not* because *he* suffers, but because *we* are suffering under him." (Italics are mine)

8. *Inability to enjoy self-created success.* Contrary to popular assumption that the impostor uses cheating for rational purposes, clinical facts prove that he acts irrationally: He neither enjoys nor makes use of his self-created success for any length of time. One can imagine that a person may use incorrect means for the purpose of achieving success; usually once success is gained in this manner, it is clung to. The impostor, however, overdoes his triumph, seems to get "bored" with it, and unconsciously provokes his own downfall. He either leaves the place of his temporary success, partly through fear of being exposed, and renews his pattern in another spot, or goes temporarily to jail because of self-provoked dénouement.

9. *"Cynical" and remorseless attitude.* The cynical and conscienceless philosophy embodied in "So what?" is consciously predominant in the impostor. More, he constantly tries to appear "tough," especially when caught. "I married three wives? So what? They were in different places." "I cheated people out of money? So what? Suckers ask for it." "I told fantastic lies about my noble descent? So what? Why were these idiots gullible enough to believe me." And so on.

10. *Stabilization of type of law-breaking on the cheating-level.* It is interesting that in *typical* cases of cheating no further development in crime is observable; crimes of a more serious character, such as murder, are not committed. The cheater remains a lifelong cheater, repeating his pattern in different disguises over and over.

11. *Pathologic approach toward work.* The impostor works only in transitory periods, usually chiefly to gain the confidence of the people he hopes to cheat. He considers work, not as a necessary means of obtaining a livelihood, but as a prerequisite for his schemes of cheating. Consciously he feels superior to "slaves" who accept work as the natural way of making a living.

12. *Incorrigibility.* The records of *typical impostors* show that neither prison nor good advice nor help of any kind changes their behavior.

It is obvious that even the most minute description cannot suffice in itself to explain impostors, and can only give clues for a genetic understanding of them.

III. *Attempt at Genetic Explanation of Impostors*

Ler's start with Abraham's "History of an Impostor." The patient therein described spent many years following one pattern. He would win the confidence of people, then make them pay for it by involving them in fraudulent debts. He wandered from one prison to another. During his military career in the War, he stole identification blanks and played the role of an officer. After the War he married a wealthy widow and became for 4 years a substantial citizen. Abraham explains this change in his behavior as an exceptional "cure through love," and reconstructs the psychogenesis of the case as follows: The boy did not develop the normal oedipus complex, he felt unloved by parents and siblings. Afterward he felt compelled to disappoint people who liked him, to repeat the revenge on his parents. An overdimensional repetition compulsion forced him always to become a pariah exactly at the moment when he found himself loved or admired. All of his transitory successes were counteracted by unconscious guilt feeling, destroying his own success. He lacked motherly tenderness in his early childhood and could not build up his father as Ego Ideal. The well-to-do widow who took interest in him gave him for the first time the possibility to transfer his libido to a mother-type. His feeling of guilt was missing, since the competitor (father=husband of the widow) no longer existed and had died through no fault of his. Abraham explains this change which lasted for four years as an exceptional one, and stresses the incompleteness of analytic knowledge of the problem of criminality in general and of impostors in particular.

I cannot subscribe to Abraham's explanation of the case. My experience has taught me that all impostors or impostor-like persons are, *not* oedipally, but orally regressed. Since Abraham's case was not analyzed, it is impossible to prove or disprove Abraham's belief specifically. Abraham's deductions, however, seem to me fallacious. The oedipus complex fits too well into the *superficial* pattern of the case; hence is **overrated without consideration** that in oral cases it represents a defense **against the deeper oral "danger."** I do not believe in "cure through love" **cases in exceptional cases of adult impostors** and I do not believe that the patient in question would **die peacefully** in old age as a substantial citizen in the arms of his loving wife. **He would rather rot in prison.** Abraham's optimism seems premature to me. **He was too much impressed by the four peaceful years.**

I personally believe that impostors represent a special group of those

people who use the "mechanism of criminosiis." To avoid repetition of a longer paper,⁽¹⁴⁾ I shall summarize only the essentials of this mechanism: The criminotic represents a specific case of failure to overcome the oral disappointment and one unique in its specific "solution." The feeling of pre-oedipal disappointment in the mother and absolute helplessness to take revenge on her for this disappointment force the criminal unconsciously to his herostratic act. His situation is that of a dwarf fighting a giant who refuses to take cognizance of his fight. The only way he can force the giant to recognize his intention is by using dynamite, so to speak, which also destroys him. That tendency to take revenge for oral disappointments in the pre-oedipal mother is projected upon society and is coupled with unconsciously self-intended punishment. *Only unconscious anticipation and acceptance of punishment makes crime possible for the criminal*, since it appeases his inner conscience. The criminal not only has a conscience; he has a very severe one. He uses a specific device to "appease" it—severe self-imposed punishment. In every criminal action two factors are involved, a constant one and a variable one. The *constant* factor ("mechanism of criminosiis") explains the motor act, the real riddle in crime. It is based on the masochistic attempt to overcome the inner feeling of helplessness stemming from pre-oedipal oral conflicts, mentioned above.⁽¹⁵⁾ The *variable* factor pertains to the psychologic contents of the specific crime; it must be determined in every specific case and is as multitudinous as unconscious motivations in general. In my opinion, the social factors in crime play a relatively subordinate role; in the majority of cases they are rationalizations for hidden unconscious motives or the hitching-point for masochistic repetition of injustices experienced in reality or fantasy in the child-mother-father relationship, afterward projected and perpetuated masochistically upon society or the social order in general.

Still, the special group of impostors, in itself a subgroup of "narcissistic psychopaths" (formally sometimes called "moral insanity") has features characteristic of this group alone. Here they are in the order of importance:

(14) "Suppositions about the Mechanism, Criminosiis", I. c.

(15) The differential diagnosis between the "mechanism of criminosiis" and the "mechanism of orality" cannot be discussed here. The latter consists of the triad: provocation of a refusal; reaction of the initial provocation and pseudo-aggression, seemingly in self-defense; and masochistic self-pity. The castration in these cases is therefore considered *nephallic* but *oral* in structure. Concerning these mechanisms the controversial content of oral regression and the literature, see the paper mentioned before, "Suppositions about the Mechanism of Criminosiis", I. c.

1. The narcissism of these sick people is out of proportion, or, more often, cannot overcome its early oral disappointment. To restore that lesion in self-esteem, the *inner, unconscious necessity arises to prove consistently the capacity to inspire love and admiration*. This defense mechanism accounts for the charming and disarming behavior of impostors. But, since that proof is only a narcissistic face-saving device, the masochistic "mechanism of crinosis" comes to the fore immediately afterward and leads to self-provoked, masochistic defeats. The notion often advanced that the narcissistic impostor wants nothing but the admiration which was refused him in childhood can be disproved easily. Should it be true, he would try to achieve such a situation and enjoy it. Nothing of the sort happens; after achieving love, he throws it away.

2. Imposters avoid success not only because they want psychic masochistic pleasure but also because they want to offend and *take revenge upon people whom they identify with the mother of the pre-oedipal period*. They want to arouse love and admiration, but having aroused them, throw them away in order to offend the mother-substitute. It is as if they would say: "I wanted only to prove to you that I could get your love—but I don't care to have it."⁽¹⁶⁾

3. The guilty feeling of impostors stems, not—as Abraham assumes—from oedipal wishes; it refers to masochistic wishes to reduce the mother to absurdity as a giving person and to enjoy unconsciously her refusal. The throwing away of love achieved in later repetitions is in itself a *defense mechanism of pseudo-aggression against these deep-seated masochistic wishes* and not simply the result of feeling of guilt because of that pseudo-aggression or oedipal repetition.

4. That unconscious pseudo-aggressive defense mechanism is visible also in the strange "sense of humor" which impostors use to attack venerable institutions or time-honored prejudices of the environment.

5. The "lack of feelings" and "lack of conscience" belong in the same category. *Both are futile attempts to escape psychic masochism*. The wish for punishment finds its expression in a jail term or in the expectation of jail. The impostor's "humor" represents his frantic attempt to deny that he is *narcissistically wounded* and therefore de-

(16) It is known that a similar tendency may be served in *dosi refracta* in different narcissistic neurotics.

pressed. Bally's naive opinion that the impostor has "no conscience" proves only that "every absurdity has a champion to defend it" (Goldsmith) and is the result of mistaking surface reverberations for the subterranean conflict they cover.

6. To sum up: The impostor is an oral-parasitic sufferer of *criminoses*—as are all other criminotics. What distinguishes him from criminotics of other types is an inflated *specific* mechanism to restore his narcissism—the proof that he can be loved. After achieving that proof, he has no use for it and throws it away out of *pseudo-aggression*. Since the inner conflict continues, he must prove to himself once more that he can be loved—and so the vicious circle continues *ad infinitum*. The interruptions of his career by jail are unconsciously self-provoked and self-intended. Whereas the habitual criminal works with intimidation and murderous weapons, the impostor—"the laughing and charming criminal"—works with irony and hurting feelings. Impostors use a *specific device of "self-cure"*: restoration of their narcissism through being loved and admired. That "self-cure" turns out to be only a "self-cure" in—narcissistic degradation.

* * *

There is in the impostor a strange contradiction to his psychopathic personality: his charm and amiability, inspiring confidence. Wittels speaks correctly of the "impostor's demoniacal and uncannily successful wish to please." Let's compare that tendency with the typical psychopathic personality, as described, for instance, by Ben Karpman in "The Individual Criminal" (l. c.). The psychopath is characterized in it as follows: "Inconsiderate and indifferent to the suffering of others . . . he is prone to use even his own family to further his selfish interests . . . is unscrupulous and dishonest. . . The desire of the moment is his only goal. His behavior is impulsive and lacking in persistence. He is a chronic borrower and spendthrift . . . often lives by his wits as a professional idler. . . is audacious and shortsighted, whose aim in antisocial behavior is personal gain." In other words, the psychopath is exactly the opposite of a "charming personality." Still, the charming and pleasing personality is the impostor's greatest asset; more, it represents a prerequisite for "success" in his career. Then, we would conclude, he fakes and pretends to *be* the pleasing personality. The fact is that his charm is real because he needs it *unconsciously* not less than consciously. The impostor unconsciously fights constantly his depression over being un-

loved or not loved enough or no longer loved⁽¹⁷⁾—love always pertaining to the pre-oedipal childhood situation. In reality the question seems to be not at all whether or not the child was loved enough. The real problem is *whether the child could "take" the disappointment* to his megalomania of real or alleged lack of love. Expressed differently: The amount of love which he actually received in childhood is not the factor which determines his feeling of oral disappointment. The real cause of his oral fixation is his inability to overcome the disappointment to his megalomania which everyone must experience. This explains the confusing but well-known fact that the psychopath sometimes springs from families in which he was pampered and sometimes from families in which he really did not receive motherly love and tenderness. The impostor, specifically, has been hurt, as have been all neurotics, criminotics, and psychotics, but *uses a specific technique in attempting to overcome his disappointment*. He denies that he was not loved or was "not worth loving" (Abraham) by creating, *first*, situations in which everyone loves and trusts him. This defense accounts for his charm and ability to inspire confidence. *Second*, he cheats exactly the people who were charmed by him. *Third*, he seeks punishment unconsciously (jail). The question arises as to the unconscious significance of that triad. More specifically, why does the impostor not take advantage of the trust he inspires? The second part of the triad—the cheating of those who trust him—is the most amazing element. It has been suggested, especially by Abraham, that his feeling of guilt prevents his making of permanent value the confidence he wins. I doubt this, and believe that another factor is⁽¹⁷⁾ involved. What the impostor really wants is not love at all; *he wants proof that he can inspire love and confidence, to restore his narcissism*. After having given himself that proof, he throws it away and starts again somewhere else his unconscious game. One of the reasons for that behavior is also the constant inner necessity of using *pseudo-aggression* to ward off the Super Ego reproach of masochistic pleasure. The feeling of guilt is taken care of by his unconscious seeking of punishment, which society metes out to him with regularity.⁽¹⁸⁾

(17) Interestingly enough, Karpman states: "Criminality may sometimes arise through sheer loss of sympathetic emotions where the individual has previously been conditioned on such" (1. c., p. 192, Case IV).

(18) It is noteworthy that the law is very specific concerning the field covered by impostors. Foxe (1. c., p. 71) states: It is interesting to note that, whereas the penal law is very brief and succinct in its definition of crimes that come under criminosis in action, it is quite detailed with respect to crimes that come under criminosis in reaction and unusually detailed with respect to border violations of legitimate business transactions."

Why does the impostor cheat people of money precisely? Why not of women, power, influence, or other valuables? The reason is overdetermined:

1. Unconsciously, he continues irony on a childlike level: "You don't love me; you love only money." As countermove, he takes away exactly that commodity.

2. Cheating people of money is the surest way to make of them irreconcilable enemies. Even the psychic masochist, who unconsciously wants to be mistreated, when cheated of money uses pseudo-aggression as a defense and clamors for the sheriff. The impostor takes a sure bet on a jail ticket when he uses precisely money as the tool for his tricks.

3. The moral odium of cheating others of money is greater than that of any other offense on a similar level. People forgive almost everything but being cheated of money. Consequently, the "negative moral odium" is a part of the masochistically-aggravating technique of self-damagement.

Impostors seem so inaccessible even to psychologic understanding that a round-about approach to this understanding has been tried—through their tendency to pseudologic fantastica. This approach is, in my opinion, fallacious. I do not believe that impostors simply live out, in a distorted way, their unconscious fantasies of grandeur, trying to make defense mechanism, "self-cure in narcissism", mentioned above. Using that approach, we could imagine, for instance, that Abraham's patient acted the role of an officer because to be an officer was one of his unconscious wishes, symbolically disguised. However, there is also the possibility that he pretended to be an officer in particular only because in wartime an officer enjoys the most influence and because he had access to officers' identification papers. In other words, it is perfectly possible that the "self-cure" come first, the paraphernalia used for that purpose being more or less opportunistic. A patient of mine collected money for advertisements, posing as the representative of a Zionist organ of Palestine. The idea occurred to him when a friend who was employed in an advertising concern mentioned to him the relative ease of procuring ads. As it happened, his friend was collecting ads for a liberal newspaper. The patient's family was ardently Zionist; his ironic twist is obvious in his choice of Zionists as prey;

it accounts for his selection of a Zionist paper. At the same time, the Zionist paper in Palestine was far away and exposure of his pose therefore difficult. Thus, conscious self-protection was involved, too, in his choice. In some cases specific determining factors can be found for the *specific* choice; in other cases the *opportunistic* and accidental factors are more predominant.

Freud stated long ago⁽¹⁹⁾ that many an hysteric lie starts from repressed memories of infantile traumas. H. Deutsch corroborated this assumption,⁽²⁰⁾ expressing the opinion that the content of pseudo-logia refers to cover memories for true facts. She believes that in pseudo-logia a distorted eruption of repressed memories can be discerned. Fenichel⁽²¹⁾ assumed that, not only does such an eruption take place, but these fantasies have the purpose of continuing repression by pretending that the fantasies are real, despite the knowledge that they are not. According to Fenichel, these lies are built upon the formula: "If it is possible to make someone believe that untrue things are true, then it is also possible that true things, the memory of which threatens me, are untrue."

Genital sex plays a relatively unimportant role in the make-up of impostors. This fact has been repeatedly observed and described by various authors. Why is this so? First, because the impostor's sex life is immature, full of inner pseudo-aggression, pre-genital. Consequently, it never reaches the genital level. Second, because it is subordinated to the one and only driving force of these people—their narcissistic reparation, "I can be loved." Third, because it is subordinated to that narcissistic reparation also insofar as it is "scheming", to use a patient's word. It is used as a weapon for neurotic cheating ideas.

A few examples of the sex life of impostors:

Patient A was interested in the lowest prostitutes only. He cherished unconsciously the idea that "perhaps" he had syphilis. A few years before entering analysis he was afraid of contracting syphilis and went for a Wassermann test to the outpatient department of a hospital. He gave his blood under an assumed name and address, and never inquired about the result. . His landlady accused him of stealing in an instance

(19) *Kl. chr. z. Neurosenlehre*, 2 Af., Bd. 1, S113, footnote.

(20) "Über die pathologische lüge", *Int. Z. f. Psychoan.*, VIII, 1922.

(21) "Zur konomie der Pseudologia phantastica", *Int. Z. f. Psychoan.*, XXIV, 1939..

in which he was not guilty. He was arrested but by chance could prove his innocence. He immediately started sexual relations with this old woman.

Patient B was uninterested in women. He was married, but did not have intercourse with his wife, since she had become distasteful to him because his castration fear was aroused when she had her pubic hair shaved for a gynecological operation. The hair grew, but the patient's castration fear remained and he was practically impotent, though undisturbed by his impotence.

Patient C played off one girl friend against another continually. He as fully conscious that his relations with women were, as he called it, "impersonal." The fact that he was hurting the feelings of his "girl friends" was a joke to him. To what degree all of his relations were based on unconscious pseudo-aggression was proved by the fact that he could ejaculate very quickly with women who needed a longer period of intercourse to be aroused, despite the fact that in general his potency was not weak. During the second intercourse he had aspermia. On the superficial level, however, he played an oedipal role, attaching himself to a woman 15 years his senior, with whom he repeated, under oedipal disguise, the oral conflict, still visible in his aspermia (refusal).

Patient D was a homosexual pervert, who used stolen money to buy presents for his friends. He was very ingenious in cheating people of money, pretending to be an investment specialist. Even in his homosexuality he was mainly interested in the enjoyment of being unjustly treated. With every present he wronged his partner, accusing him indirectly, through his gifts, of loving money only. The patient suffered from premature ejaculation in his homosexual relations.

Patient E was completely frigid, but stated that she felt a "queer excitement" when engaged in kleptomaniac activities or when pretending to be a "rich lady." She was uninterested in genital sexuality, practicing it occasionally only "as a woman spy would, who wanted to drain the man of some secret", as she ironically put it.

It is important to note that in some cases of impostors the oedipal conflict seems to be near the surface. The result has been that even analysts have mistaken that defense for the genetic reason— as shown in Abraham's case. The real conflict is not oedipal; impostors flee from the "oral danger" (masochistic conflict with the "aggressive, bad" mother of the pre-oedipal time) to the "passive" and harmless mother of the oedipal time. Proof of this fact that impostors are orally fixated or regressed to the oral phase can be found in some of their symptoms:

lack of interest in genital sexuality, with preference for perversions, for instance, homosexuality; in their neurotic symptoms, for instance, ejaculatio praecox, aspermia, etc.—all orally-conditioned disturbances.

* * *

Not enough attention has been paid to *borderline* cases among impostors. Two are, for practical reasons, specifically important: the bankruptcy specialist and the charity-swindler ("philant-robber", as Sinclair Lewis calls him in "Gideon Planish"). He lives on a high standard, spends money freely, creates the impression of always having money and luck. This financial wizzard does not speculate with his money. At first he makes money for his friends, seemingly letting them participate in his coups. Once having established his reputation for making money for his friends; he no longer needs to ask them for money; they beg him to make use of their idle capital. The man of this type borrows from one man to pay another his fabulous earning, the result being more and more debts. The technique is primitive and old; speculation is the big game. The only amazing thing is the length of time in which the trick will work before the financial collapse comes. It may be questioned whether men of this type are to be included among impostors. They don't work under an assumed name; their "business" really does exist; they have, for a long period of time, no criminal record. Still, they are impostors, with the psychology and genetic background implied. ⁽²²⁾

I have, with but one exception, had no experience with the "philant-robbers"; however, I believe from the few glimpses I had of that one case that they belong in the same category.

The psychoanalytic practice provides an opportunity to obtain the inside story of impostors of the bankruptcy type in an indirect way, through the wives of these "criminotics". It has happened a few times that I have analyzed seemingly well-to-do women with some neurotic difficulties and have been surprised at the regularity of one complaint against their respective husbands: "He is dancing on the edge of a volcano." The women had in mind that their husbands were in constant danger of being jailed because of crooked deals tending toward bankruptcy. The description was typical. They spent money in great

⁽²²⁾ The "bluffer" type is closely akin to this group. I am preparing a paper on the subject of bluffers.

style; nothing was too expensive, provided it could be used for public display. Where no narcissistic exhibitionism was involved, the wives had to fight for every dollar. The women themselves pretended to be modest and unwilling to live on such an "exaggerated" plane; in reality, they enjoyed all of the advantages and at the same time constantly nagged their husbands with reproaches of impending bankruptcy. Some of these men consulted me at their wives' urging. After learning that they could talk freely because of medical secrecy, they started to ask for "advice", making fun of "bourgeois ideology", projecting upon me their own reproachful Super-Ego. For instance, they wanted to know if it would be better to owe money to one person or to ruin twenty creditors "should something happen." Or if I had any ideas on how to protect their wives from creditors. They even wondered if I could interview a lawyer in their behalf. And so on. The result was not exactly a happy one, since most of these men went away angry over my hands-off policy, the only one possible. All of them denied that they were pathologic gamblers in business—as their wives diagnosed them—sometimes admitting their "bad situation", always stating that they had to continue their technique of borrowing from Peter to pay Paul because it was too late, anyway. One such husband, after a discussion along these lines, prevented his wife from continuing analysis. I came to the conclusion that the best policy was to evade these gentlemen, or ones whom I only suspected of having similar tendencies, to avoid detrimental complications to their wives' analyses.

IV. Conclusions

The impostor is a typical victim of the "mechanism of crinosis" with one specific distinguishing characteristic: the attempt to restore in his defense mechanism a lesion of his narcissism. Everything else is subordinated to the goal of providing in defense to himself that he can make people love him. The real, dynamically-effective masochistic wish is repressed. The moment he has achieved this "proof", the love itself becomes unimportant and the chase for narcissistic reparation, interrupted by jail sentences, starts anew. This narcissistic technique of the impostor reminds me *mutatis mutandis*—of an impotent patient who was narcissistically hurt that he was incapable of producing an erection. After a few months of analysis, he proudly announced to me that the night before he had had an erection while in bed with his virginal wife. "What did you do with that erection?"

I wanted to know.. "What do you mean"? he asked in surprise. "Well, did you attempt intercourse or were you satisfied with the erection in itself"? "The latter," was the patient's laconic answer.

Very interesting is the conclusion reached by impostors that good morals are generally lacking in business. It is obvious that, for the purpose of self-defense, they must draw a dark picture. A few of these patients stated their views as follows: "Crookedness in business seldom makes the headlines though it is the order of the day. Most of the 'good people' have no scruples in feneigling, lying, and double-crossing. The only remarkable thing is their moral indignation if the other fellow proves to be smarter than they." One such man declared: "To be smart in business seldom means having a new idea which makes money because it is new. To be smart means in general to be a better bluffer, cheater, and double-crosser than the other fellow is. I don't mind that all of these 'honorable' people are cutthroats—that's natural in business competition. I do mind their pious hypocrisy." Another summarized his impressions as follows: "It is amazing with what ease the good citizen will take any oath to perjure himself, only to save a few hundred dollars. He will lie his head off in court, swear he never saw you; he never got your merchandise; you never gave him the information which you really did give him; in short, call black white and white black. After his perjury he will come to you, shake your hand, and be surprised if you turn your back. Then he will cry out indignantly that you are not a good sport. All of these lies go under the heading of 'business.'" Now, it cannot be denied that the description is accurate, with but one reservation; it applies only to individuals of their *own* type, since in *every* field of endeavor psychopaths are represented in a higher percentage than is generally assumed. By focusing their attention on psychopathic behavior and implying that it is universal, impostors draw the conclusion that crookedness and business are synonymous, thus diminishing their guilt feelings. If one listens to their tirades, one gets the impression that they really believe that they are the best people to conduct a crusade against crooked business morals. "Gracchi de seditione querentes."

Wittels sums up very precisely the psychoanalytic opinions concerning the therapy of impostors: "We are not as yet very efficient in the treatment and 'cure' of the criminal psychopath. Regular psychoanalysis can be of some help, but rarely, because the transference necessary in this work is unreliable and desultory with these patients."

In addition to the difficulty of achieving a workable transference,

other factors complicate the problem of therapy of impostors. First, these men never enter analysis of their own volition. Second, if they come at all, they do so under pressure of their desperate and well-to-do family, who pays and pays (for instance, for forged checks, debts illegally contracted, etc) to keep the criminotic out of trouble and who tries analysis as a last resort. Third, every analysis "made to order" (Freud) has a bad prognosis to start with. It is, of course, theoretically possible to mobilize the latent and "misplaced" unconscious feeling of guilt for therapeutic purposes; practically, however, the chances are very slim, indeed. With stoicism, cynicism, or hypocrisy the criminotic accepts all of the statements concerning threatening jail sentences, social disgrace, family grief, etc., without changing his course. Fourth, it happens, though relatively seldom, that a patient of this type enters treatment because of some other neurotic symptom, for instance, impotence, neurotic headache, hypochondriacal symptoms, etc. Indirectly we are thus given the possibility to analyze his whole personality. However, he brings forth the greatest objections to "dragging in things which are nobody else's business", to quote such a patient. Fifth, the cases we see are never clearcut; in general, they are mixed cases. A combination of impostor features with gambling, alcoholism, drug-addiction, kleptomania, homosexuality are common. The patient singles out one pat symptom and refuses to analyze anything else. Sixth, the general instability of psychopaths results, even among those who enter analysis voluntarily, in their treating the whole procedure as a joke and often running away the moment they understand, even for a short time, the seriousness of their situation. "I understood yesterday for the first time what you really are after," said a kleptomaniac patient. "You want to make a good citizen of me. There is no fun in that for me. Goodby"!

After having had repeatedly the same experience as many of my colleagues, that it is nearly impossible to mobilize the guilt feelings of impostors through the channels of transference, I no longer try to mobilize these feelings in the *beginning* of analysis. I now start immediately to point out how *ridiculous* their constant attempt to restore their narcissism is as it manifests itself in their specific defense mechanism, "I can achieve love," covering their deep masochistic attachment. The result is that it is possible to keep these patients in analysis at least for some time. Furious and ironic objections at once begin; these patients are vulnerable in one point only—fear of appearing ridiculous. *There* their narcissism comes into play, and whereas previously *all* of my analyses of impostors ended more or less without any success, in general being

terminated by the patient's refusal to continue treatment, now my experience is more favorable. In a series of cases patients have been helped, a few even to a degree which one could, euphemistically, call something like a cure. There is, however, in general no reason at all to be over-optimistic about the results of treatment of impostors; quite the contrary. Still, I believe that the mechanism described above gives us, not only some clues to the understanding of the impostor's unconscious, but also the beginning of a therapy of his queer disease.

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A CULTURAL THEORY OF OBSCENITY

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There can be little doubt that the eventual systematic formulation of the principles for a science of sex must take cognizance of the data of cultural anthropology. Despite the estimable contributions made by psychopathology to law and criminology concerning the nature of such behaviors as exhibitionism, pornography and verbal obscenity, theories of the dynamics of such behaviors are almost always restricted in their applicability to the cultural milieu from which they were derived—European or American culture. There has been little attention to the fact that notions of obscenity (like crime) vary culturally, and the obscene behavior is functionally definable only with relation to the culture of which it is a part.⁽¹⁾

It is quite true that the law closes its eyes to questions of what is normal or abnormal in Melanesia, Africa or among the Arctic Eskimos. But because it is a science, psychopathology is interested in all the factors that contribute to functional maladjustment. If its particular goal is to be the solution of social problems such as crime then it is necessary for it to comprehend the cultural factors in any society which are related to (but are not the "cause" of) criminal behavior. Such knowledge is important both for individual rehabilitation and for a more distant, but inevitable, educative social reconstruction.

AIMS AND DEFINITIONS

One purpose of the present paper is to develop briefly certain cultural principles regarding the expression of behavior which this culture calls "obscene." There is no thought that these are the only principles serving to explain the dynamics of such behavior. The anthropologist studies merely the cultural factors to which the human being is related—the ideas and attitudes of a society that determine what is obscene. Any more exhaustive theory of motivation must, of course, take into account

(1) For a theory of crime which takes cognizance of social and cultural milieus see J. F. Brown and Douglas W. Orr, *The Field-Theoretical Approach to Criminology*, *Jour. Criminal Psychopathol.* 1941-42 (3) 136-252.

the conscious and unconscious organismic (psychological and biological) factors of such behavior. In the end, however, no theory will be complete unless it views individual obscenity as the product of both cultural definitions and pressures and the organism's total reaction. Social science then becomes the study of individual behavior from the standpoint of organismic and cultural dynamics.⁽²⁾

A second purpose in presenting this paper is to contribute greater precision to the cross-cultural use of sexual concepts. This is a contribution frankly looking forward to the development of a sexual science.

In a sense this whole paper may be regarded as a connotative definition of the idea of obscenity, the essence of which is that obscenity is conventional and culturally relative. There are no absolute standards of what is obscene in a universal sense. Societies, however, may define obscenity to their satisfaction and may then attempt to extend their notion of wholesomeness and purity to an absolutistic plane, punishing all those people who, by virtue of their membership in different cultural configurations, do not subscribe to the same definitions of purity and obscenity. For working purposes we may define obscenity as the expression, representation or display to another person or persons, in certain contexts or situations, of something which is culturally regarded as shocking or repugnant.

The context or situation in which a behavior may be regarded as obscene may be dependant on one or more of the following factors:

(2) Without developing this point further it will be noted that the view here stated is committed to an holistic theory of human motivation and behavior. The interested reader is referred to the following references: A. H. Maslow and Bela Mittelman, *Principles of Abnormal Psychology*, N. Y., Harper, 1941; A. H. Maslow, Dynamics of Personality Organization, *Psychol. Rev.*, 1943 (50) 514-558; Preface to Motivation Theory, *Psychosomatic Medicine* 1943 (5) 85-92.

It may also be pointed out that although cultural definitions and pressures are extremely important in defining the individual's obscene behavior, culture itself is no super-organic factor over and above the individual. Culture, which has been defined as the social heredity of mankind—the technical processes, social behaviors and ideas communicated through education, is individually rooted. Cultural pressures are meaningless unless introjected by the individual within a society. By such introjection the individual is in turn maintaining a particular cultural trait, carrying on the social heredity. The notion of culture as individual-centered indicates that man both creates and is influenced by culture. See, Ralph Linton, *The Study of Man*, N. Y., Appleton, 1936; David Bidney, On the Concept of Culture and Some Cultural Fallacies, *Amer. Anthro.*, 1944 (46) 30-44; Clyde Kluckhohn and O. H. Mowrer, 'Culture and Personality'; A Conceptual Scheme, *Amer. Anthro.*, 1944 (46) 1-29. The latter reference contains a comprehensive bibliography.

a. *The social situation.*⁽³⁾ In American society nudity is permissible before a doctor and his nurse in the examining room; it is objectionable in his living room. The pictorial representation of the genitals is permitted in a medical text, but not in a popular magazine, and the medical text book is restricted to certain situations. The meaning of the social situation is, of course, culturally determined; there are cultures which would never permit the exposure of a woman in the presence of a physician if the latter were a male.

b. *The intention.* A woman may permit herself to be photographed in the nude for a medical publication in our culture; she is not permitted to be so photographed for the commercial distribution of her image, unless that distribution is confined to artistic circles. Actually the intention is seldom inquired into in passing judgment on behavior which is regarded as obscene. Although accident may be regarded as a mitigating factor, in many societies it rarely exempts the careless person from blame.

c. *The ethos.* This term refers to the emotional quality or tone of voice of physical or verbal behavior, or the stylistic pose of pictorial behavior. The ethos of an obscene situation is an impressionistic matter, often depending on a personal definition of the social situation (a prudish nurse might at first object to male nudity in the examining room, due to her interpretation of the emotional quality of such behavior) or a misconception of intention (a naturalistic novel might be discounted as a work of art and regarded as solely pornographic).⁽⁴⁾ On the other hand there is no necessary one-to-one correlation between the ethos and motivation of behavior. The cartoons of *Esquire* were found to be pornographic (presumably because their ethos suggested sexual interaction), although the editors of that magazine affirmed that the cartoons were merely intended to be humorous.

⁽³⁾ This is of course distinct in one sense from the situation as individually structured. The latter concept is employed in the field theory of Lewin and denotes all the idiosyncratic features of a situation which are the field for that person's motivation and behavior. Nevertheless the social situation is always personally organized when individual motivation takes place. In this paper the gross response of the whole society is subsumed in one term, "social structure."

⁽⁴⁾ It is not valid to accept the impression of a cultural behavior on an observer who is not a participant of that culture when it comes to defining the obscene quality of a situation. Before the rise of scientific ethnology, countless travelers have returned from visits to other societies and reported on the "obscene" dances and practices of their hosts. Needless to say there was often nothing obscene in those behaviors in the eyes of the society itself.

In the present paper we are concerned only with genital and sexual obscenity. In genital obscenity it is the verbal expression of genital terms or the actual display or representation of the genitals which is regarded as obscene in certain contexts (exhibitionism, toilet drawing, etc.). In sexual obscenity the public expression of behaviors, terms or images pertaining to autoeroticism or sexual interaction⁽⁵⁾ is regarded as obscene in particular contexts or situations (pornographic pictures or literatures, the public display of coitus, etc.)⁽⁶⁾

We shall now attempt to understand the cultural basis of certain behaviors which are popularly regarded as obscene in American society because of their connection with genital or sexual objects and situations. For comparative purposes the same behaviors will be presented as they do or might occur in a different cultural milieu where they would not necessarily be considered obscene or where they are considered obscene due to different factors than operate in our society. In some cases the same factors will be seen productive of obscenity in several societies. From such data we shall attempt to formulate a universal, cross-cultural theory of obscene behavior.

EXHIBITIONISM

The interaction of cultural and idiosyncratic factors in obscene behavior is admirably illustrated in exhibitionism. In its broadest sense exhibitionism may be defined as any behavior of the organism which is designed to attract social attention. For example, loud talking, the choice of a profession which ensures public attention, the wearing of atypical clothing, or the exhibition of the partly nude body in a revue may all be manifestations of conscious or unconscious exhibitionistic personality trends in certain individuals. Here, however, we are concerned solely with genital exhibitionism in which the actual genitals are singled out for display to produce either pleasurable or shocked respons-

⁽⁵⁾ The term "sexual interaction" is here used to denote any social behavior involving sexual excitement. The term seems useful because it embraces both homosexual and heterosexual behavior, whether involving "intercourse" or not. Its limitation is that it denotes autoerotic (non-social) behavior.

⁽⁶⁾ Genital and sexual obscenity are hardly separable in all cases. Genital exhibitionism, for example, is often productive of sexual excitement in the exhibitionist and sexual excitement may motivate the scrawling of the genitals on a wooden fence.

es in the observer and release of tension or sexual excitement in the exhibitionist.⁽⁷⁾

Two sets of factors interact in genital exhibitionism: the idiosyncratic and the cultural; neither can be considered prior to the other in a causal sense. The idiosyncratic factors are the personal characterological reasons (conscious or unconscious) by which the individual feels compelled to exhibit himself genitally. These personal factors can often be discovered by psychiatric or psychoanalytic techniques which are designed to explore the etiology of behavior. The cultural factors are the cultural motivations of genital exhibitionism, the *meaning* of the genital display under certain conditions in a particular society. These factors may be inferred from a knowledge of the cultural habits and values of the society in which the behavior occurs. Thus in our society it is customary to keep the genitals well covered at all times. The actual representation of the genitals is normally (i. e., statistically) not considered as beautiful. Under such conditions the display of the genitals in a mixed group generally produces reactions of shame, shock, indignation or anger. In certain groups of like sex (e. g., middle class white women) the display of the genitals when non-exhibitionistic, as in a bath house, may also be regarded with discomfort and embarrassment and may even be branded as obscene.

Among the Papuans of New Guinea, however, genital display is charged with no such emotional overtones.⁽⁸⁾ Here the usual dress of the male consists of no more than a shell phallocrypt which covers the upturned penis but leaves the scrotum exposed and unprotected. Frequently Papuan males go around the village entirely naked and, of course, unashamed. Under such conditions genital exhibitionism would

(7) The overwhelming proportion of genital exhibitionists in our culture appear to be males, although female exhibitionists are not unknown. Two cultural explanations for this fact are possible. Exhibitionists are interested in a shocked response more than in a favorable or positive response. Women are not likely to receive such a negative response from men in American culture. Also the taboos enforcing modesty are more strongly inculcated in women than in men; thus even casual nudity in a woman's bath house is rare and the deliberate exhibition of the genitals to strangers may be extremely difficult in non-psychotic women.

(8) F. E. William, *Papuans of the Trans-Fly*. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1936; pp. 395ff.

not readily develop and such display of the genitals as does occur is naturally not regarded as obscene in that society.⁽⁹⁾

While nudity among boys is accepted among the Kwoma people of New Guinea, a boy who shows an erection is severely punished.⁽¹⁰⁾ It is the public erection which is regarded as obscene in this society and not the genital display. Conceivably some form of exhibitionism could become associated with juvenile public erections.

Among the South African Bantu exhibitionism is reported to be rare.⁽¹¹⁾ It is said to occur among young uncircumcised boys, but here boys attaining the age of twelve customarily decorate the area of the penis as conspicuously as possible, even using bells to attract attention to that region, so that such exhibitionism cannot be regarded as culturally obscene. There are likewise no sanctions on revealing the penis during this period. Once circumcision has occurred, however, the glans of the penis must never be revealed. Exhibitionism among these people also occurs in senile old men and among city Negroes who reveal themselves to European women. As such, exhibitionism would seem to be correlated with the parapathy of senility or the culture conflict arising from detribalization and exposure to new attitudes toward the genitals.

Although there are primitive cultures which share with our own a negative and prudish attitude⁽¹²⁾ toward the genitals and their functions,

(9) When missionaries with absolutistic notions of decency have encountered such nudity in the course of their activities in the South Seas they have nearly always reacted first with shock and then by exerting considerable energy to convince the natives that such display was obscene and that wearing clothing was decent. Thus missionized natives soon develop the habit of wearing clothing and cultural values toward genital display often changed from being neutral to being emotionally charged with shame. The wearing of clothes, however, may also be adopted with no immediate acquisition of a sense of shame. Thus the Plains Arapesh of New Guinea adopted G-strings from their beach neighbors, but the idea "still sits lightly upon the mountain men, who fasten their bark-cloth G-strings with a carelessness and disregard of their purpose that shocks the more sophisticated beach people." M. Mead, *Sex and Temperament in Three Primitive Societies*, N. Y., Morrow, 1935; reprinted in her *From the South Seas*, N. Y. Morrow, 1939; p. 8.

(10) J. W. M. Whiting, *Becoming a Kwoma*, New Haven, Yale, 1941; p. 51.

(11) J. F. Laubscher, *Sex, Custom and Psychopathology*. London, Routledge, 1937; pp 76ff; 260-261.

(12) Throughout this paper we shall return to this theme—that there are some cultures which condemn sexual expression (taboo the sexual aim as well as the sexual object, in Kardiner's words) and other cultures which tolerate and encourage the expression of the sexual impulse imposing only specific object taboos. Why are some societies ashamed and afraid of sex? Functional anthropology does not deal in the historical "causes" of cultural phenomena. Functionally, however, such attitudes toward sex may be regarded as serving the goal of the culture, integrating with its dominant interests and, well or poorly, serving the security and ego needs of its members. Thus a culture whose interpersonal relations are ridden with guilt feelings, whose goals seem to be the main-

there is no evidence that exhibitionistic practices occur with any comparable frequency in these groups. This may be due simply to the fact that the reporting of the ethnologists is incomplete. On the other hand an important factor may well be the anonymity which is possible in our large cities where the exhibitionist has little chance of being recognized by his victims. In the small communities of primitive societies everyone knows everyone else and punishment for exhibitionistic practices would be sure to follow such an act.

In the Trobriand Islands, where the ideas and behaviors relating to sex were thoroughly studied by Malinowski, "Sex, like excretory functions and nudity, is not felt or regarded as 'natural,' but rather as naturally to be avoided in public and open conversation, and always to be concealed from others in behaviour; hence . . . the 'improper' interest in occasional infringements."⁽¹³⁾ Propriety between husband and wife in matters relating to sex is carefully observed. There must be no public hint of tender relations between the married couple, who will not be seen holding hands or walking with arms around on another. Lovers too must never hold hands in public, and great care is taken to be sure that the performance of the sex act between lovers is never observed—although this is a culture permitting considerable pre-marital sexual freedom. Sexual subjects, in short, must be dealt with in taste, "lightly, with refinement, subtlety, or wit."⁽¹⁴⁾

Genital exhibitionism in the Trobriands is regarded as obscene and is described as "bad" because of its "contemptible lack of shame and dignity."⁽¹⁵⁾ Both aesthetic and moral repugnance attach to such genital display. The ideas of modesty are firmly established; ". . . the native has absolutely the same moral and psychological attitude towards any infringement of these demands as we have. It is bad, and shameful, and

tenance of interpersonal hostility, would probably tend to find those sexual patterns fitting into its interests which erect barriers between individuals and invest sexual relations with reticence and shame. The integrative patterns are not always so clear-cut, and may involve many aspects of the culture pattern. Nor is a strong sense of sexual shame always correlated with hostility; among the Northern Athapaskans it seems to be related to a social distance or introversion of the individuals in the culture, while in the Plains it was related to the dangers of in-group aggression which might arise through sexual infidelities. Again it must be noted that this does not imply a causal relationship between a disembodied culture and its carriers. The organized patterns of culture are present in the individual, being implanted there by the methods of child training known to the mothers of any particular society.

⁽¹³⁾ Bronislaw Malinowski, *The Sexual Life of the Savages in North Western Melanesia*, N. Y., Halcyon House, 1929; p. 397.

⁽¹⁴⁾ *Ibid.*

⁽¹⁵⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 468.

ludicrous in a degrading sense not to conceal, carefully and properly, those parts of the human body . . . ”⁽¹⁶⁾ The situational factor operates here too, however, and nakedness is not shameful when men remove their pubic leaves in fishing expeditions.

In the island of Truk in the Central Carolines premarital sexuality appears to have been extensive, but attitudes toward sex and the body were characterized by considerable reserve. The illustration of the vulva was referred to as a “bad picture” and there was also a word for “indecent talk” in the culture.⁽¹⁷⁾ According to another observer, “In the presence of women, men avoid using certain expressions which have to do with certain parts of the body and its functions,” using elaborate circumlocutions and euphemisms.⁽¹⁸⁾ Other information indicates that once maturity was reached adults never allowed themselves to be seen without their clothing, which consisted of mats covering the lower half of the body. Correlated with this was a strong interest in voyeurism, often manifested in observing the bathing of nude women; this was described as “very enjoyable.”⁽¹⁹⁾ In this society women utilized sexual exhibitionism in aggression, accompanying their men into battle and there taking part in the insults exchanged by opposing forces by exposing their genitals to the enemy.⁽²⁰⁾ The potency of this insult would seem to derive from the degree of obscenity that as culturally attached to any exposure of the genitals in public. Instances of verbal aggression utilizing channels of obscenity will be discussed below.

The attitudes attached to female genital exhibitionism have a different dynamic among the Kiwai Papuans of New Guinea. Here is a culture utilizing sexual magic to an extraordinarily high degree. Sexual symbolism pervades gardening and the vaginal secretion is an especially powerful substance. Women are the source of all magic and for this reason the wife is indispensable to her husband. Adultery with a man's wife is a serious affront, amounting to the threat of stealing the husband's magical power. The sexual organs are the locus of magic and must always be protected, being kept hidden by a grass skirt at all times. “The

⁽¹⁶⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 450.

⁽¹⁷⁾ A. Krämer, *Truk. Ergebnisse der Südsee Expedition 1908-1911*. Ed. G. Thilenius, II, B. V. Hamburg, Friederichsen, De Guyter and Co., 1932; pp. 315-317. Translation in the files of the Cross Cultural Survey, Institute of Human Relations, Yale University.

⁽¹⁸⁾ M. Girschner, *Die Karölineninsel Namoluk und ihre Bewohner*. *Baessler Archiv* 1912 (2) 123-125. Translation in Cross Cultural Survey.

⁽¹⁹⁾ A. Krämer, *op. cit.*, p. 316.

⁽²⁰⁾ O. Finsch, *Ethnologische Erfahrungen und Belegstücke aus der Südsee*, Wien, 1893. Translation in Cross Cultural Survey.

sexual organs are regarded as in a high degree the source of all kinds of witchcraft, beneficent as well as malignant. These notions explain why the mere idea of nudity in the case of women evokes the greatest abhorrence."⁽²¹⁾ This is the Kiwai explanation for the obscenity attaching to the female display of the genitals.

The picture we have just seen is in sharp distinction to that presented by Lesu, a community in New Ireland, where "There is . . . keen enjoyment in sexual intercourse, which begins almost immediately after puberty, and which is indulged in rather freely . . ." ⁽²²⁾ There is no idea of the need for concealing sex and stories of a sexual content are freely told. Here "A woman's method of leading a man on is the not very subtle one of exposing her genitalia. Sometimes she is in earnest . . . At other times a woman may merely lead a man on for the fun of it."⁽²³⁾ "Devilling" a man, as this is called, is regarded as a great sport. The anthropologist comments on the lack of perversions in this society and in discussing the acceptance of masturbation reveals the casualness with which coitus is entered into: "A couple may be having intercourse in the same house, not near enough for (a woman) to see them, and she may become aroused. She then sits down and (masturbates)."⁽²⁴⁾

It has already been pointed out that in our society any genital display may be regarded as obscene, even when it is not deliberately exhibitionistic. Even art enjoys little social approval when it seeks to represent the actual male or female genitals, not even the clean pubis was always acceptable. Thus in 1806, when the Philadelphia Academy exhibited casts of some Louvre nudes, women were admitted only once a week and on that day the statutes were carefully draped to spare visitors the indecent spectacle.⁽²⁵⁾

The whole problem of human nudity or partial nudity is closely related to the notion of obscenity which American society reserves for genital exhibitionism. Burlesque shows in our society may be regarded as an institutional answer to the curiosity and interest generated by our cultural attitudes which disapprove of the exhibition of any female nudity. While the burlesque theatre is somewhat uneasily established in this country, the revue and cabaret floor-show, which also gratify an

⁽²¹⁾ Gunnar Landtman, *The Kiwai Papuans of British New Guinea*, London, Macmillan, 1927; p. 238.

⁽²²⁾ Hortense Powdermaker, *Life in Lesu*, N. Y., Norton, 1933; p. 286.

⁽²³⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 239.

⁽²⁴⁾ *Ibid.*, pp. 276-277.

⁽²⁵⁾ Leo Markun, *Mrs. Grundy*, N. Y., Appleton, 1930; p. 477.

extensive interest in the exposed female form, are more firmly established. Obviously in Melanesian and Polynesian cultures where women are rarely covered above the waist no commercial venture featuring female breasts would ever draw a large audience on that basis alone. Among the Creek Indians the cultural definitions of propriety in dress enabled the use of a form of punishment which would likewise never have been effective in a New Guinea society. Here a married woman accused of adultery was stripped naked and exposed publicly for the judgment and insults of the community, after which she was banished.⁽²⁶⁾

Many cultures permit representations of the male and female genitals to be used in decorative art or as religious symbols. Phallic symbols have been described for many parts of the world.⁽²⁷⁾ In Dahomey, toward the close of certain cult initiation rites, a woman dances with a wooden phallus of Negro skin color which projects upright from her raffia skirt. She imitates masturbation and simulates coitus with women in her audience who show considerable amusement.⁽²⁸⁾ In India women come to pray to phallic symbols for fertility, the religion not becoming debased because of its straightforward connection with sexuality and the genitals.⁽²⁹⁾ Various African tribes also secure the genitals of their slain enemies and display these in front of their kraals as trophies.⁽³⁰⁾

This discussion of genital exhibitionism may be summed up by pointing out that the idea of obscenity culturally attached to genital display is strongly correlated with cultural attitudes which, for any reason, demand the careful covering and concealment of the genitals. In such cultures the genitals assume strong valence qualities. While avoided by the greater portion of a society, their demonstration may be chosen to express individual personality trends. The etiology of exhibitionism of course varies from individual to individual. Before any such theory of genital exhibitionism can be accepted as final, it will be necessary to pur-

(26) John B. Swanton, *Social Organization and Social Usages of the Indians of the Creek Confederacy*. 42nd Ann. Report of the U. S. Bureau of Amer. Ethnology 1924-1925. Washington, 1928; pp. 346-348.

(27) Cf., W. B. Seabrook, *Jungle Ways*, N. Y., Harcourt Brace, 1931.

(28) Melville J. Herskovits, *Dahomey, An Ancient West African Kingdom*, 2 vols., N. Y., Augustin, 1938; p. 125.

(29) Edward Carpenter, *Intermediate Types among Primitive Folk*, London, Allen, 1914; also Otto Stoll, *Das Geschlechtsleben in der Völkerpsychologie*, Leipzig, 1908.

(30) Hans Freimark, *Das Sexualleben der Afrikaner*, Leipzig, Leipzig Verlag.

sue the comparative study of such behavior in many cultures other than our own.⁽³¹⁾

PORNOGRAPHY

The intense emotional attitudes of shame and fear with which American culture regards situations of heterosexual and homosexual interaction has provided a cultural setting in which almost any pictorial or literary representation of sexual interaction is regarded as obscene. However the situational factor operates here too, so that, regardless of intention, the coital situation between a man and a woman described euphemistically and somewhat obliquely in a novel is not generally regarded as obscene.⁽³²⁾ On the other hand pornographic literary descriptions of coitus and other sexual situations are, in our society, always presented with slang terms or scatological language to describe the phases of such interaction.⁽³³⁾ Between the naturalistic novel and the pornographic short story or poem there lies another area of euphemistic sexual description. More emotionally subjective than the novel in its approach (but the novel may adopt this ethos) but avoiding the scatological speech which is so integral a part of literary pornography, such literary expressions are commonly categorized as "erotic," a word which generally denotes the ability of the material to stimulate various degrees of sexual excitement. Many members of American culture do not recognize this middle territory and the erotic representation is immediately identified as obscene. It would also seem that the pictorial representation of nudity is commonly referred to as erotic because its ethos is suggestive of situations of sexual interaction, this being the dynamic factor stimulating sexual excitement in the viewer.

(31) For a brief statement of the incidence of exhibitionism in cases of mental stability in a puritanical community see M. Mead, *Growing Up in New Guinea*, N. Y., Morrow, 1930; also in her *From the South Seas*, N. Y., Morrow, 1939; p. 166.

(32) Notice the lengths to which such descriptions can go in novels like Vivian Connel's *The Chinese Room*, N. Y., Dial, 1942; Waldo Frank's *The Death and Birth of David Markand*, N. Y., Scribner, 1934; Nelson Algren's, *Never Come Morning*, N. Y., Harper, 1942 and others.

(33) That our culture should have two forms of language, neither of which is easily utilized in popular conversation or description (one being awkwardly scientific and the other vulgar and largely taboo for ordinary usage) pertaining to sexual interaction is itself indicative of the emotional attitudes associated with sex. It is interesting to note that in another puritanical society located in the South Seas there are likewise no proper terms for referring to the sex organs or their function. Cf., Reo Fortune, *Sorcerers of Dobu*, London, Routledge, 1932; p. 245.

The appeal of pornography in present-day culture can be understood in the same light in which we have already discussed the appeal of the burlesque show and the revue featuring nudity. The details of sexual interaction are obscured; in such a condition strong interest into the processes of sexual interaction as it obtains among other individuals is generated; various factors then determine whether the euphemism of the novel, the titillation of the erotic poem, or the direct appeal of the pornographic novelette will satisfy this interest.

In distinction to the state of affairs obtaining in our culture one might predict that among the Lepcha of India sexual obscenity in the form of pornography would be of little interest. For these people the sex act is surrounded by no emotional overtones; it is regarded as matter-of-factly and as indispensably as eating.⁽³⁴⁾ In many other primitive groups children become aware of the processes of sexual interaction from early childhood, observing them in their parents and participating in them during the course of childhood sex play. In such societies too, one might predict, that there is little emotional satisfaction to be gained by description of coitus.

With this picture of the cultural concomitants of pornography there must also be considered the individual personality motivations which enable the pornographer to derive satisfaction through his creation of obscenity. Many different motivations may enable the derivation of pleasure from pornography in a society which taboos all mention of sexual interaction in everyday life. An inhibited individual, for example, may be able to derive vicarious emotional satisfaction through creating sexual situations on paper in which he could never participate in real life. Verbal, literary and pictorial pornography may also be the means of attaining tumescence.

A brief word may be added concerning exhibitionistic sexual obscenity, as when individuals deliberately display themselves in sexual interaction. In our society any such exhibition would be defined as obscene when any third person is known to be present. Our cultural norms would scarcely tolerate such a situation in the scientific laboratory. Meanwhile there are other societies where ceremonial occasions may be marked by sexual orgies which are in no way regarded as indecent. Among the Ojibwa Indians of Canada drunkenness from the white man's liquor often releases sexual inhibitions so that orgies ensue. "Women at such times almost invariably throw up their skirts or strip themselves and

⁽³⁴⁾ Geoffrey Gorer, *Himalayan Village*, London, Joseph, 1938.

invite any man in the vicinity or all the men." Restraint is abandoned and parents often copulate in the presence of their children.⁽³⁵⁾ Neither can the exercise of the royal duty of defloration (*jus primae noctis*) be regarded as obscene merely because it occurs in public. Public dances in which the coital rhythm is imitated have often been described as obscene by ethnologists who failed to inquire into the values of the culture which they were describing. Similarly the folk-lore of many people contain frank description of heterosexual processes in man and animals which are communicated freely with no feeling that they are obscene. Frequently, however, a native informant will hesitate to describe such details to a member of American culture, knowing from experience that white people often regard such episodes as obscene. When he will tell such an incident, the native is often forced to use the scatological language of the dominant culture to convey his idea; if he has confidence in the listener he may use such language freely, not perceiving the fundamental obscene nature of this speech.

In summary, available ethnographic evidence shows no interest in pornography in primitive cultures, comparable to that present in our own. The suggestion is that, culturally, pornography is correlated with attitudes which tend to conceal information pertaining to sexual interaction and to taboo reference to such interaction from everyday conversation.

VERBAL OBSCENITY

The discussion of the incidence of pornography in non-literate primitive cultures has already introduced the topic of verbal obscenity. Here the discussion will concern only the verbal expression of obscenity in emotional insults and humor. In some respects verbal obscenity differs from the phenomena of exhibitionism and pornography as they occur in our society. While the characterological roots of exhibitionism and pornography are often complex and unconscious, the instigation to obscene verbal aggression is common to a large part of the society and often occurs habitually and, from the standpoint of personality dynamics, superficially. Hence in the case of these behaviors the significance of individual etiological factors is of minor importance alongside the cultural factors which determine the pattern of verbal obscenity and define its content.

(35) Ruth Landes, *The Ojibwa Woman*, N. Y., Columbia Univ. Press, 1938.

What are the cultural dynamics involved in obscene insults in our society, and elsewhere, and what are the cultural dynamics of genital and sexual jokes?

a. *Genital and Sexual Insults*

As has already been pointed out, our language contains no neutral terms for directly referring to sexual situations or to the genitals and their functions. Associated with the intense emotional attitudes with which we surround the genitals and sexual interaction is the fact that emotional insults and expletives in our society which refer to sexual situations and genital objects are almost always couched in scatological language. The dynamics underlying these patterns seem related to the fact that such tabooed situations and objects, as well as the tabooed form of speech, present themselves as a channel for venting non-sexually instigated aggression in the same way that the names of deities are selected for a similar function.⁽³⁶⁾ Furthermore the intensity of such aggression may be stepped up in proportion to the seriousness of the accusation (e. g., practicing incest or fellatio), or may be almost entirely dependent on the fact that the insult (often semantically meaningless) is delivered in scatological language. The same emotional insult would be entirely powerless and ineffective if delivered in the so-called "scientific" sexual language of our culture (e. g., "copulate with yourself!" or "You copulator!").

To complete this theory of the function of genital and sexual obscenity in channelizing and intensifying aggression, it would be universally necessary that the idea expressed by an insult or (where there is an impersonal factor instigating the aggression) expletive be correlated with negative attitudes toward the particular sexual and genital functions represented in that idea, or that the language chosen for the insult be improper or scatological. The latter has been pointed out as the more important in determining the effectiveness of the insult in American culture. Elsewhere, where available, the evidence tends to confirm this general conclusion.

Among the Siberian Yukaghir, where romantic love finds considerable opportunity for cultural expression, sexual reticence is revealed by the fact that men will not name women's trousers and that consider-

(36) John J. Honigmann, *An Interpretation of the Social-Psychological Functions of the Ritual Clown*. *Character and Personality*, 1942 (10) 220-226.

able embarrassment is caused by "coarse" jokes, pertaining to the genitals, which men are fond of making. Correlated with these attitudes is the fact that in cases of sudden fright it is quite common for an individual to burst out with emotional expletives utilizing the obscene terms for the male and female genitals.⁽³⁷⁾

In Dobu, a small Melanesian island, the system of morality has been compared to Victorian prudery. Here there are likewise no proper terms for referring to the sexual organs and functions. "Perfect freedom before marriage is associated in Dobu with a general attitude toward sex that can be described as dirty, lascivious and obscene below the surface, and rigidly decorous and euphemistic above the surface."⁽³⁸⁾ In this society obscene terms referring to coitus are widely used in verbal aggression and succeed in producing intense shame and sometimes even provoking the suicide of the person so addressed.

From Manus, an ancestor worshipping society living in the Admiralty Islands, comes the report that attitudes toward sex gave the picture of "a puritan society, rigidly subduing its sex life to meet supernaturally enforced demands, demands which are closely tied up with its property standards. Accompanying this banishment of the sex motive in life are various other social traits. Casual profanity takes the form of references to the private parts or sex adventures of the dead. The commonest of these expressions which fall from every lip are, 'Inside my mother's vagina,' and 'Copulate with my father who is dead.' And this is a society where the sex activity of the living is only referred to between jesting relatives or by outraged elders dispensing punishment."⁽³⁹⁾

Lesu we know is characterized by extremely permissive attitudes toward heterosexual interaction.⁽⁴⁰⁾ Even married women are expected to have lovers. Gifts are made to women with whom intercourse is secured and the women, if married, turn over this gift to their husbands. Jealousy is rare. Sex is regarded as highly pleasurable and sex play in children is regarded with amusement. Incest taboos, however, must never be transgressed in sexual interaction. In spite of the extreme permissiveness, negative attitudes toward the genitals are patterned so strongly that a mother is even ashamed to look at her daughter's organs

(37) W. Jochelson, *The Yukaghir and the Yukaghirized Tungus*. N. Y., Memoirs of the Amer. Museum of Natural History, 1910.

(38) R. F. Fortune, *op. cit.*, p. 242.

(39) M. Mead, *op. cit.*, p. 173. Cf. Reo F. Fortune, *Manus Religion, Oceania*, 1931, (19) 74-108.

(40) Hortense Powdermaker, *op. cit.*

at birth. Yet copulation is not always performed in private and a woman seduces a man by displaying her genitals. Verbal obscenity here revolves around references to incestuous copulation, bestiality and the vagina. "You copulate with your sister!" is an extremely grievous insult; "You copulate with a pig!" is less serious. Genital insults are phrased as "red vagina," "black vagina," "open vagina," etc. The anxiety inducing qualities of object taboos in this culture is dramatically revealed by myths and dreams. The author says: "It is interesting to see how the taboos are reflected in dreams, myths and obscene expressions . . . dreams of relationship with pigs and dogs (are) put into the same class as incestuous ones, in that they are both considered shameful."⁽⁴¹⁾

In the Trobriands the data have shown that attitudes are strongly adverse to any public expression of tender or coital behavior between husband and wife. Such behavior is regarded as shameful. Characteristically, "The Trobriander's grossest and most unpardonable form of swearing or insult is *Kway um kwava* (copulate with thy wife). It leads to murder, sorcery, or suicide."⁽⁴²⁾ In these islands no one would admit to copulating with an ugly or repulsive woman. A favorite and only mildly obscene form of address is to advise copulating with such an unsuitable person. Actually, we discover that this attitude is more ideal than real; that is, secretly copulation with ugly women does take place. Under these circumstances the mildness of the insult expressed by reference to this situation becomes a further correlation confirming our theory.

These examples from primitive cultures strongly suggest that tabooed areas of genital and sexual behavior are culturally associated with channelized aggression expressed in the form of obscene and verbal insults and expletives. The insult would seem to be effective because the accusation is painful or because the form of address is shameful, or both.

b. Genital and Sexual Humor

This theory of verbal obscenity in aggression must be modified when we consider the comparative anthropology of genital and sexual humor. The encouragement which sexual and genital humor receives in American culture does not permit the definition of such humor as

⁽⁴¹⁾ *Ibid.*, pp 268-269.

⁽⁴²⁾ B. Malinowski, *op. cit.*, p. 111.

obscene in the sense in which that term has been defined. Rather we might regard such humor in somewhat the same light as the erotic. Genital and sexual humor offers a form of expression for culturally improper genital objects and sexual situations. Hence the situational factor will be found to have considerable importance in protecting such humor from being culturally branded as obscene.⁽⁴³⁾

Basically the ethos of genital and sexual humor seems to differ between our culture which patterns strong negative attitudes toward sexual interaction and the genitals and other cultures which accept sex more causally and neutrally. In the latter, for example, there is usually a permissible form of speech for discussing sexual and genital matters while in the former any such discussion is immediately obscene because it must be conducted in salacious language. Hence our culture distinguishes those jokes which pertain to sexual or genital topics as "dirty," "hot" or "smutty" jokes and stories.

Among the Trobriand Islands, where inappropriate genital exposure is regarded as shameful and degrading, "The slightest inaccuracy or imagined inaccuracy in the set of the pubic leaf is immediately seized upon . . . 'thy pubic leaf is out of order . . . let us see thy testicles,' " people cry.⁽⁴⁴⁾ This mockery is obviously a sanction on carelessness. At other times, when no close relatives are present, the Trobrianders take great delight in recounting sexual jokes and allusions in which the clitoris is a favorite figure. String figures are popular in which a number of images are interpreted in sexual terms and the copulatory rhythm is imitated. The relationship of these patterns to the customary cultural attitudes toward coitus and the genitals will be readily perceived. Here the tabooed material may be expressed (in culturally defined situations) and the social response is laughter and amusement.

Hopi sex attitudes are relatively tolerant, with a minimum of repression being featured in the child's sexual development. Nudity is not ordinarily permitted in social life. It is therefore interesting to observe that Hopi ceremonial clowning sometimes consists of one clown tearing off the other's G-string. The crowd laughs heartily as the clown runs off covering his genitals.⁽⁴⁵⁾

(43) Humor involving genital objects and sexual situations may also serve the function of being a sanction on the culturally tabooed. Cf. Conrad M. Arensberg and Solon T. Kimball, *Family and Community in Ireland*, Cambridge, Harvard Univ. Press, 1940.

(44) B. Malinowski, *op. cit.*, p. 483.

(45) Don C. Talayesva, *Sun Chief, the Autobiography of a Hopi Indian* (Leo W. Simons, Ed.). New Haven, Yale, 1942. Cf., Dorothy Eggan, *The General Problem of Hopi Adjustment*, *Amer. Anthro.*, 1943 (45) 357-373.

Many societies recognize situations in which genital and sexual joking is allowed between what anthropologists call "joking relatives." Eggan⁽⁴⁶⁾ has pointed out that among the Plains Indians the joking relationship may obtain between relatives whom there is the possibility of conflict of interests or of social roles; for example, "between the husband-wife relationship and the sister-sister relationship." The age differential being slight or nonexistent, there is little tendency for the culture to pattern an avoidance relationship as a device "for organizing hostility in socially desirable ways."⁽⁴⁷⁾ It seems possible that the ribald joking between these relatives may also be a culturally patterned channel of vicariously expressing sexual interests, but not providing any excuse for marital jealousy. While the patterned behavior in such relationships generally is not supposed to go beyond manual handling, the present writer heard of a Cree boy impregnating his cross-cousin, with whom he stood in a joking relationship. The couple had to marry, but the informant was certain that he would have been more harshly dealt with had he been intimate with his parallel cousin.⁽⁴⁸⁾

Among the contemporary Blackfoot⁽⁴⁹⁾ sex is generally felt to be pleasurable, desirable and necessary. Nudity is regarded with shame, however, even between members of the same sex. The culture lacks any scatological or euphemistic language for dealing with the genitals and sexual functions. The terms for the genitals become obscene only when spoken in the wrong situation, as, for example, in the company of tabooed relatives. The ordinary spirit of sexual humor in this tribe is described as quite different from the ethos pervading smutty stories in our own culture. According to one Northern Blackfoot informant: "If children are discussing sex seriously parents and adults won't interfere with them, only when they joke with it or call names. Indians hide nothing and are pretty open about it," he said, pointing out that Blackfoot folktales contain many instances of sexual behavior. The influence of acculturation is brought out in his statement "When I'm in a white frame of mind I get embarrassed; in the Indian frame of mind I don't."

Our evidence suggests that genital and sexual humor is closely related to cultural norms of obscenity, but is more closely connected with

(46) Fred Eggan, *The Cheyenne and Arapahoe Kinship System*. In Fred Eggan, Ed., *Social Anthropology of North American Tribes*, Chicago, Univ. of Chicago Press, 1937.

(47) *Ibid.*, p. 79. See also the article by Sol Tax on "The Social Organization of the Fox Indians, in the same volume, particularly p. 258.

(48) Unpublished Woods Cree field notes.

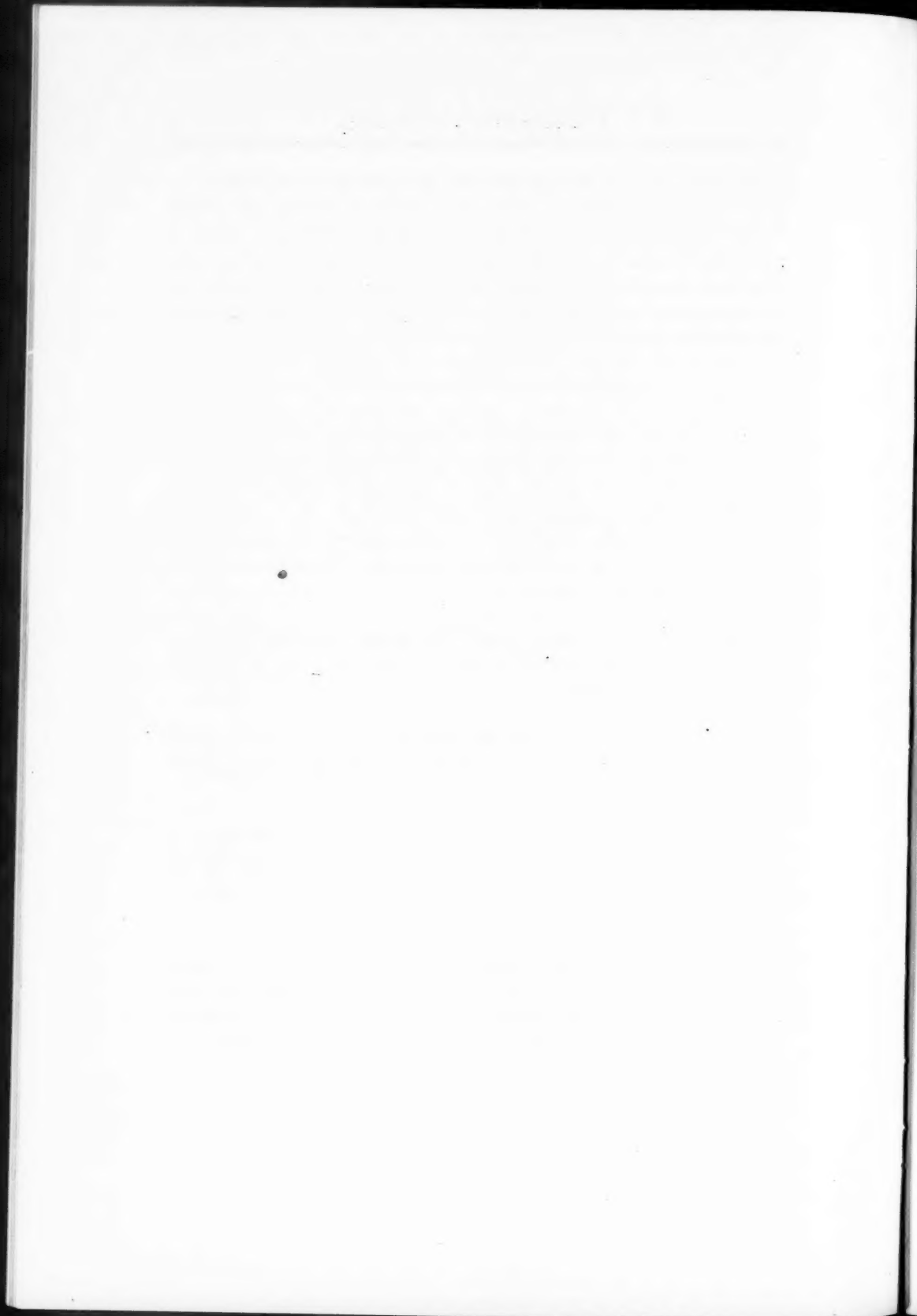
(49) A. H. Maslow, Unpublished Northern Blackfoot field notes.

social situations in which usually obscene incidents are permitted expression and are laughed at rather than criticized. On the other hand incidents which the culture does not regard as obscene may figure in genital and sexual humor. In such cases the humor is different in no way from the humor revolving around non-genital and non-sexual situations and can be understood from the basic dynamics of humor and the comic in general.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

A culturally relative definition of genital and sexual obscenity has been formulated. The interaction of cultural attitudes with idiosyncratic factors in such obscene behaviors as genital exhibitionism, and pornography were explored for American society. For comparative purposes ethnographic material from other cultures was presented to demonstrate the cultural dynamics of obscenity. The following tentative conclusions were induced:

1. The idea of obscenity tends to be attached to genital exhibitionism in a cultural milieu which demands the careful covering of the body and especially the genitals.
2. Pornography (the representation of sexual interaction) appears to be a cultural function of the tendency to conceal all mention and details of the processes of sexual interaction.
3. Obscene emotional insults and emotional expletives appear to represent a pattern in which aggression becomes associated with tabooed sexual situations or genital objects which are expressed exhibitionistically (as in Truk), scatologically, or in everyday language.
4. Sexual and genital humor represents the overcoming of sexual taboos through laughter and amusement in prescribed social situations or, where negative sexual attitudes are lacking, the utilization of genital and sexual situations for humor in accordance with general dynamics of the comic.



A NOTE ON CLASSICAL CHINESE
PENOLOGICAL THOUGHT(*)

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Leafing through the pamphlet "Gems of Chinese Literature"⁽¹⁾ the writer happened upon an extract from the writings of Ou Yang Hsiu entitled "On Releasing Prisoners," reflecting the penological theories of one of the outstanding Chinese philosophers of his time. Like most Chinese philosophers of the past Ou Yang Hsiu (Sung Dynasty period) is a social philosopher rather than a metaphysician. The fact that his theories are in line with the moral outlook of other Chinese thinkers will be shown by references to other authors, whose writings appear in the same pamphlet. These convergences suggest that we are not confronted here with an isolated view, but with the formulation of a trend of thought which underlies much of the older philosophy of the Chinese. It might be noted that the views expressed by Ou Yang Hsiu are spiritually akin to the penal philosophy of the Middle-Ages in Europe. The same kinship is manifest in our author's essential belief in the validity of subtle reasoning as a clue to criminal psychology.

Briefly stated, Ou Yang Hsiu presents a penological problem in narrative form and then proceeds to analyse its implications.

We shall attempt to summarize this passage:

The attributes of the virtuous are sincerity and the sense of duty. Punishment and death are the portion of the depraved. The climax of crime is to deserve death in the iniquity of guilt, whereas the height of heroism is to die without regret at the call of duty.

In the sixth year of his reign the second Emperor of the T'ang dynasty released more than three hundred criminals, and allowed them to return home, on condition that upon the expiration of a certain

(*) The opinions or assertions contained in this article are the private ones of the author and are not to be construed as official or reflecting the views of the Navy Department or the Naval Service at large. George Devereux, Lt. (j. g.) U. S. N. R.

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period of time they were to return to be executed. This was done simply for the purpose of inviting these "unprincipled wretches" to play the arduous role of heroes.

Without a single exception the released prisoners returned to captivity when their period of grace had expired. No true hero could have acted thus, though these criminals found it easy enough to do so. It was, to say the least, an unnatural thing to do.

One of Ou Yang Hsiu's friends suggested to him that, despite the fact that these men were deeply tainted with guilt and were completely lacking in the principles, they might possibly have been converted to righteousness by the Emperor's gracious act. Indeed, Ou Yang Hsiu's friend urged upon him the view that such wonderful and sudden conversations were not without precedent. Ou Yang Hsiu could not, however, accept this view. He maintains that the Emperor's act itself was motivated by the desire to gain fame. He takes it for granted that the Emperor was convinced that all of the released men would faithfully return, confident of being granted a full pardon, and that this was the sole reason why the Emperor took the risk of letting them go in the first place. Ou Yang Hsiu himself was fully convinced that the released criminals returned solely because they were confident of being pardoned. He added that if the Emperor released them solely because he felt certain that they would return, he was simply discounting the human impulses of his subjects. And if the prisoners returned solely because of their moral certainty of receiving a pardon, they too were likewise discounting the Imperial Mercy. Ou Yang Hsiu added quite coldbloodedly than in his estimate the "credit of the whole affair was a product of mutual spoliation" and wondered where was the magnanimity of the Emperor and the heroism of the condemned men in this matter.

In support of these views Ou Yang Hsiu pointed out that the Emperor had already reigned for six years—and if in that span of time he had been unable to prevent evil men from doing evil, then it was absurd to suppose that he could, by a single act of grace, convert them into heroic and dutiful subjects.

What then, Ou Yang Hsiu asked was the proper course to pursue? In his estimate, the returned prisoners should have been put to death, and THEN, should the Emperor choose to repeat the experiment upon some future occasion, one could be certain that the returning prisoners were indeed motivated by a genuine sense of duty. But, Ou Yang

Hsiu added, no further prisoners would ever return in the future under such circumstances.

He argued that to release prisoners in this manner and to pardon them on their return may be appropriate in an individual case. He pointed out, however, that were one to apply this principle and method repeatedly, it would be equivalent to pardoning murderers in general, in defiance of all laws both human and divine. For this reason the wise rulers of yore based their administration on the normal workings of the human heart. They sought no unusual means of conduct, no exceptional standards of behavior, for the purpose of exalting themselves, nor did they act contrary to natural human instincts in order to achieve popularity."

So far Ou Yang Hsiu. It would be laboring the obvious to point out the psychological fallacies of his reasoning, and the many ways in which his basic approach to penology and to human nature is at variance with present-day penal theory. We shall limit ourselves to a presentation of some of his implicit premises.

1. Human nature is evil. The tenet is clearly elaborated in the above passage, and is extended even to the act of the Emperor whom he accuses of a cheap publicity trick, whereas it is conceivable that the Emperor was merely more naive than the philosopher—or more kindly—or else (and this is quite conceivable) counted upon restoring the "social self" (William James) of the criminals in question, by giving them an opportunity to regain "face" in the sight of the public, as well as to regain their own self-esteem (In a previous paper⁽²⁾ I have urged that one of the principal tasks of psychiatrically informed penology was the reconstruction of the social self of the criminal.) This interpretation was not acceptable, however, to Ou Yang Hsiu, who believed in the basic evilness of human nature. Nor was he alone in holding this view. Hsun Tse⁽³⁾ reasoned as follows. Man is evil by nature. His goodness is an artificial product. Being what he is, man is influenced by a desire for gain and hence strives to get all he can, showing no consideration for his neighbor. Likewise man is prone to envy and hate, seeking hence to ruin others and disregarding loyalty and truth. Finally, man is subject to animal passions and hence is given to excesses and to straying from the path of duty and right. Thus, when man acts in conformity with his natural tendencies, he creates violence, disorder and ultimate savagery. Only under the restraint of law and of high moral influence does man become eventually fit for

membership in a genuine organized society. From these premises it is quite obvious that man is evil by nature and that man's goodness is an artificial product.

A somewhat less extreme view is propounded by Ou Yang Hsiu himself. He held that certain men are inherently good, whereas others are evil. In his essay on "Clubs"⁽⁴⁾ he urged that evil men are incapable of forming friendships, because friendships rest upon an identity of purpose in the cause of truth, rather than upon an identity of purpose directed by self-interest. One of the great purposes which brings good men together is loyalty to the sovereign. Evil sovereigns fail, however, to unite the hearts of the people. Such an evil ruler was Chou.

Yet Ou Yang Hsiu's views clearly reflect a belief in the incorrigibility of the criminal. (Perhaps he had so-called "psychopathic personalities" in mind. His reference, in his essay on "Clubs", to the inability of evil men to form genuine friendships points in that direction.) This belief is quite clear e. g. in his statement that if the first group of voluntarily returning criminals had been executed, future criminals, released on the same terms, would not return. This statement detracts from the value of his half-hearted reference to the possibility of using this method or test in individual cases.

We must not believe, however, that belief in the incorrigibility of the criminal or a-social person pervaded *all* of Chinese thought. The Emperor Han Wu Ti (140 B. C.) issued the following instructions. "Exceptional work demands exceptional men. A bolting or a kicking horse may eventually become a most valuable animal. A man who is the object of the world's detestation may live to accomplish great things. As with an untractable horse, so with the unscrupulous man:—it is simply a question of controlling. We therefore command the various district officials to search for men of brilliant and exceptional talents, to be OUR generals, OUR ministers, and OUR envoys to distant States"⁽⁵⁾

Here we find an acknowledgment of the tendency of brilliant men to be deviant in their behavior, though of great social usefulness when properly managed. It is difficult to say whether this view does, or does not, support Hsun Tse's belief in the basically evil character of human nature, whose goodness is a product of social restraint. Hsun Tse's view is a general one, whereas Han Wu Ti's proclamation refers only to men of exceptional talent. Regardless of what may be the case, Han Wu Ti's proclamation is interesting in one respect. Linton⁽⁶⁾ suggests that most social roles can be performed by average men, and

that, hence, few societies care to make breaches in the social framework for the purpose of allowing exceptional men to assume social functions normally barred to them because of social handicaps. Han Wu Ti's proclamation shows that in social emergencies, which call for exceptional performances, exceptional men were allowed to come to the fore, despite even previous intractability. (It is obvious that Han Wu Ti's proclamation is not an expression of his weakness, nor an expedient of the type which forced the latter-day Roman Emperors to bestow the honorific title of "Allies of the Roman Empire" on frontiers barbarians, in order to induce them to protect Rome against even more barbarous would-be conquerors.)

Nor was Han Wu Ti alone in his understanding of the frequent unpopularity of exceptional men. Song Yu, when asked by the Prince of Chou why he was so unpopular, calmly compared his own unpopularity to the equal unpopularity of great classical music.⁽⁷⁾ (To understand the greatness of this claim, we must remember the importance of music in the Confucian scheme of right living and deportment.)

2. Essential difference between good men and evildoers. It is quite obvious that whereas many Chinese thinkers were willing to be tolerant of what may be termed the epiphenomenal wrong doings of inherently great men, they conceived of criminals as a genus apart, as a genus whose wrongdoings were not epiphenomenal, but basic and hence incorrigible. This too is quite in line with magical (i. e. non-philosophical) Chinese thought. I am indebted to Prof. Boodberg of the University of California for the information that the great mana-like "Tê" which made for the greatness of the first and great emperors of each dynasty, gradually deteriorated and "went wrong" in their successors, until, in the last and weak descendants of a given dynasty the Tê turned into a thing of almost satanic splendour of sheer evil. Yet even in this instance the evil had something great and magnificent about it. (A similar view is implicit in Maspéro's work⁽⁸⁾.) We may perhaps surmise that the epiphenomenal deviations of the great man are somewhat like the evil of the last emperors of each dynasty. It should be recalled that Durkheim had shown how consistently that the primitive concept of the "sacred" is also a concept of the "dangerous" and that primitive magical power in general is morally neutral. The magical powers of the Mohave shaman clearly reflect this moral neutrality. This power may turn into good and into evil channels alike, though, curiously enough, most shamans start out by being good shamans (after

a rather naughty childhood) and do not turn to witchcraft until they get old.⁽⁹⁾ The evil of the criminal, on the other hand, is of a different order,—it has no satanic splendour;—it is merely sordid. Here we pass from the magical realm of Tê into the commonplace realm of social fitness and etiquette. One might say that, in the case of the ordinary criminal, the process of socialization has simply failed, and one might infer that it has failed because basic human nature was too strong to be overcome. Hence the criminal's alleged incorrigibility. This interpretation gains in value if we recall the Confucian emphasis on good conduct as a "religion" without any supernatural phases.

3. Crime and Law in their relation to the Criminal and to the Moralist. The concept of crime as an act of trespass against moral values seems superimposed on the concept of crime as an act against the social order. This superimposition is accomplished by means of a logical slight of hand, which disregards the fact that in China, as everywhere else, moral principles were developed to validate the social order, amalgamating the moral and the social, and claims that the social order is a direct outcome or manifestation of moral principles.

Thus, the criminal who is operationally guilty only of trespass against the social order, is held *ipso facto* to have trespassed against moral values as well—or perhaps even against heaven and moral values *primarily*. (Confucius) His unsocial act is condemned by philosophers of penology as an unmoral act, as a rebellion against society and hence against morals, through an uninhibited expression of man's fundamentally evil nature. (The similarity between this conception of the criminal and the "primitive" criminal of some modern criminologists is obvious.)

At the risk of restating and repeating something already expressed above, the criminal's anti-social (and hence anti-moral) act is reprehensible, because it is motivated by human nature which is evil. One of the principal anti-social acts is disloyalty to the Throne, loyalty to which is the social cement uniting good men. Hence anti-social acts of any kind are also acts against the Emperor's Majesty, as much as they are acts against good morals. (The concept that a criminal act is an aggression against the ruler, sometimes through harm to one of his subjects, is manifest in numerous primitive legal systems, and survives to this day in the British legal fiction that criminal procedures are actually "Rex vs John Doe." The King prosecutes the criminal for an act harmful to one of the King's subjects, and therefore, indi-

rectly, to the King, the latter, indirect act being the *real* criminal act, and the one which is being prosecuted. Now it is singularly enlightening and singularly human that the moral philosopher should be free to criticise the Emperor on moral grounds, even as, almost in the same breath, he condemns the criminal for his aggression against the Majesty of the Emperor through an anti-social act, e. g. an act harmful to one of the Emperor's subjects. The latter act is morally reprehensible, it is crime and guilt, because it is due to the baseness of human nature, whereas the philosopher's own practical disloyalty is morally right, because it is rooted in moral motives once he condemns not the Throne, but the unworthy Emperor (cf. Ou Yang Hsiu's criticism of the Emperor's conduct in his essay on releasing prisoners, and his view of the ideal Emperor as the social cement of good men.) I have shown elsewhere⁽¹⁰⁾ that society shares the view that the "subversive" philosopher is less anti-social than the criminal. Perhaps Sung Yu and Han Wu Ti both thought of the intractable philosopher when they discussed unpopularity and the hidden virtues of obstreperous men of great merit.

This distinction is also present in Western society, at least in theory, though it is hard to see in what respect John Huss, burnt at the stake, fared better than did the criminal of his day. Franklin was quite aware of this when he urged the Founding Fathers to hang together lest they all hang separately.

The simple fact is that the distinction between the anti-social act rooted in "base human nature" and the anti-social act rooted in lofty moral principle is based on *a priori* value judgments. Unlike some contemporary sociologists, I do not object to value-judgments personally, and feel that they have a great heuristic value even in a purely objective scientific analysis, for the simple reason that moral values happen to be social forces. The purpose of the preceding paragraphs was to show that acts against the social order and against the Emperor's Majesty were considered criminal or righteous not simply in terms of absolute conformity to existing social systems, but primarily in terms of motivation, base or lofty. That, at least, was the implicit view of many a philosopher, though it may never have occurred to him to compare his own act in any way to the acts of the lowly criminal since he carefully distinguished between the throne and the "bad" Emperor. The Emperors, being less sophisticated and more direct, sometimes failed to perceive

this distinction, and punished with remarkable impartiality criminals and philosophers alike. The Lady Chang⁽¹¹⁾, whose pleas on behalf of her husband—waiting in prison for his execution—have been handed down, is similarly practical in her supplication. She admits the guilt of her husband, whose crime consisted at first in wrongly advising the Emperor, and then, after an initial pardon, in uttering wild statements of some kind, presumably criticisms of the Emperor which, in view of his previous high rank at court (Minister in the cavalry department of the Board of War, which implies scholarship in ancient China) may have been—consciously—rooted in lofty moral principles. The simple fact remains that in China, like in Europe, these hairline distinctions, so clear to the philosopher, were sometimes less visible to practical Emperors, swifter to act than to philosophise. True, Ou Yang Hsiu himself reports that one of the Han dynasty Emperors, Hsien Ti, repented, and released some imprisoned sages, but, as he remarks with evident satisfaction, it was too late, and the Emperor fell under the revolt of the Yellow Caps⁽¹²⁾

Summing up, we may say that, implicitly at least, many of the Chinese philosophers of penology defined crime—anti-social acts—definitely in terms of motives, and felt that only crimes motivated by base human nature were genuine crimes. Their “Give unto Caesar” was not absolute. It excluded the verbal aggressor against the social system, whose acts were rooted in moral principles—i. e. it excluded the philosopher himself at least in his own right, though not necessarily in the sight of other philosophers of another school.

CONCLUSION

We examined from the viewpoint of penology some passages from classical Chinese authors. We noted that many relevant passages could be found even in a small literary anthology of only 93 pages, whose anonymous compiler certainly had no penological interests. This suggests that a systematic study of Chinese classics by a historian of penology would open up a treasure-house of facts, hitherto unexploited by Western penological scholarship. In a very genuine sense, one of the principal purposes of this brief note was to bring this fact to the attention of historians of penology.

Some general principles were found to pervade the penological thought of many of our authors:

- (a) Criminal behavior is an anti-social and, *ipso-facto* immoral act.

(b) Unlike morally enlightened verbal aggressions against the social order, these acts are motivated by the inherent baseness of human nature.

(c) This baseness must not be confused with the intractability of potentially great men, whose magically conceived "Tao" may simply be "feeling its oats" and who, properly managed, can become of extraordinary value to society, particularly in times of crisis.

(d) The real criminals as a class are incorrigible, and cannot be corrected by noble and merciful acts on the part of the ruler, against whose Majesty they have trespassed.

(e) It is in accordance with human and divine law that criminals should be punished and even put to death. To show mercy to criminals is often a mere whim and publicity seeking on the part of the Emperor.

(f) Only in individual and special cases *may* Imperial mercy be of value.

(g) Human goodness is an epiphenomenon and the product of man's socialization through the restraints of the law and lofty moral principles.

These are the major principles implicit in the writings of our authors, and, as pointed out above, they bear a curious resemblance to the spirit animating all but the most modern criminal psychiatrists.

One conclusion we may draw is that there never may be an intelligent penal policy until we have come to grips with, and elucidated the psychological foundations of the premises which inspire the man in the street and the moral philosopher alike in their *ex cathedra* utterances on penology and crime.

FOOTNOTES

(1) *Gems of Chinese Literature*, (Published by "The Progress." No place, no date. All Chinese sources are from this pamphlet.

(2) Devereux, G. Motivation and Control of Crime. *Journal of Criminal Psychopathology*. 3:553-584, 1942.

(3) *op. cit.* pp. 90-91.

(4) *op. cit.* pp. 42-43.

(5) *op. cit.* p. 97.

(6) Linton, R. *The Study of Man*. New York, 1936.

(7) op. cit. 87-88.

(8) Maspéro, H. *La Chine Antique*, Paris 1927.

(9) Devereux, G. L'Envoûtement chez les ndiens Mohave. *Journal de la Société des Americanistes de Paris*. 1937.

(10) Devereux, G. Social Negativism and Criminal Psychopathology. *Journal of Criminal Psychopathology* 1:323-338, 1940.

(11) op. cit. pp. 81-83.

(12) op. cit. pp. 32-34.

A STATISTICAL INVESTIGATION OF THE CRIMINALITY OF OLD AGE*

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Compared with the scientific attention which criminologists have paid to juvenile delinquency, sociological research regarding the criminality of the aged has been insignificant. Psychiatrists have shown more interest⁽¹⁾, and it is due to their studies and reports of case material that we have at least suggestions for a detailed statistical investigation of this problem. Available criminal statistics permit an occasional statement about the incidence of crime in old age, but do so only as a by-product to the main theme to which they are devoted. Statistics regarding the relationship of age and crime are detailed only for the period of youth, give often somewhat larger age brackets for the period of maturity, and show a definite lumping together for the advanced years of life in such brackets as 50+, 60+, or 50-59, 60-69, and 70+, etc.⁽²⁾

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(1) Johannes Bresler, "Greisenalter und Kriminalitaet," *Juristisch-Psychiatrische Grenzfragen*, vol. V, Heft 2/3, (1907), pp. 3-58.

O. Leers, "Forensische Bedeutung der senilen Involution," *Archives Internationales de Médecine Legale*, vol. II, (1911), pp. 145-185.

E. Gelma, "La délinquance sexuelle primaire et tardive des hommes âgés non déments," *Annales de médecine légale*, vol. XVII, (1937), pp. 926-931.

D. dell'Amore, "Della delinquencia senile," *Rivista sperimentale di Freniatria e Medicina Legale Delle Alienazioni Mentali*, vol. XV, (1937), pp. 136-137.

J. M. Henninger, "The Senile Offender," *Mental Hygiene*, vol. XXIII, (1939), pp. 436-444.

(2) *Uniform Crime Reports*, Federal Bureau of Investigation, Washington, D. C., fourth quarterly bulletins; Home Office, *Criminal Statistics, England and Wales*, 1938 (Cmd. 6167), London 1940, Appendix 2 (A), p. XXXIII; Ernest Roesner, "Vorbestraftenstatistik," *Handwoerterbuch der Kriminologie*, vol. 18, (1936), pp. 1007-1008; all quoted in Thorsten Sellin, *The Criminality of Youth*, The American Law Institute, Philadelphia, 1940, pp. 116, and others.

Two years ago, the writer of this report attempted to canvass the existing psychiatric and criminological literature for information regarding the criminality of old age. On the basis of general descriptions, case material, and statistics, of the type indicated above he arrived at the tentative conclusion that the delinquency of the aged has a pattern of its own characterized by the following facts:

- (1) General decline of the crime rate with advancing years.
- (2) High incidence of first offenders.
- (3) Relative frequency of certain types of crime, especially of sex offenses.
- (4) Characteristic traits of criminal behavior such as lack of foresight and awkwardness.
- (5) Specific groups of victims in sex offenses and homicides.⁽³⁾

It is the purpose of this study to check and supplement these tentative findings by statistics specifically analyzed and mostly also collected ad hoc. In order to do so the following questions were considered: What and how many crimes do our old offenders commit; who are they; and how do they commit their crimes. Offenders of 50 years and over were made the subject of the investigation.

The Source Material

The statistical data presented in the following pages were taken from various sources.

National Data are based on figures published in the *Uniform Crime Reports, Fourth Quarterly Bulletins 1940 and 1941*.

Specific state wide data were collected for Pennsylvania with the assistance of the Division of Research and Statistics of the Department of Welfare in Harrisburg, Pa.

Material on a local level was collected by the writer from the dockets of the Morals Court in Pittsburgh and from the card files of the social service department set up in this court.

Supporting case material was received from the files of the Eastern State Penitentiary.

⁽³⁾ Otto Pollak, "The Criminality of Old Age", *The Journal of Criminal Psychopathology*, vol. III, No. 2, (1941), pp. 213-235, p. 229.

Corresponding population figures for Pennsylvania were taken from the 16th Census, *Population, Fourth Series, Characteristics by age, etc., Pennsylvania*, Washington, 1943.

I. WHAT AND HOW MANY CRIMES DO OUR OLD OFFENDERS COMMIT?

The extent of the criminality of old age

As to the actual size of the visible criminality of old age we are in a position to get some idea of the national picture. The Uniform Crime Reports for 1941 list 65,540 arrests of persons 50 years and over out of a total of 630,540 for all age groups.⁽⁴⁾ This gives a percentage figure of 10.4%; the corresponding figure for 1940 is 9.6%.⁽⁵⁾ Thus it can be said that the 50+ group participates to about 10% in the arrests listed in the Uniform Crime Reports for these years. These figures are certainly incomplete;⁽⁶⁾ but we have no indication that they represent an age bias. A comparison of the contribution of various age groups to crime on the basis of these figures with the proportion of the respective age groups in the general population may thus be permissible. Viewed then against their proportion of about 18% in the general population⁽⁷⁾ the criminality of the 50+ group is certainly small.

However, it has to be noted that the average proportion of 10% disguises a wide range of different degrees of participation of old offenders in the various types of offenses. The following tables suggest the extent of these variations.

(4) Uniform Crime Reports, Fourth Quarterly Bulletin, 1941, p. 205.

(5) Uniform Crime Reports, Fourth Quarterly Bulletin, 1940, p. 208.

(6) Ronald H. Beattie, "The Sources of Criminal Statistics", *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, vol. 217, Sept. 1941, pp. 19-28, p. 21 and p. 22.

(7) The age breakdown of the National Population according to the 1940 Census has not yet been published, but the 1930 percentage of the 50 plus group was 17.10% (Fifteenth Census, vol. II, pp. 576-577) and the continuity of the slow trend of aging in our population can be assumed, so that a somewhat higher proportion for 1940 may be expected.

TABLE I

The participation of offenders of 50 years and over in the total number of arrests for major offenses reported by Uniform Crime Reports for 1941 arranged in order of magnitude.*

Type of Crime	Percentage of total for all ages
A. Crimes against the person:	
Sex offenses (except rape and commercialized vice).....	12.10
Criminal homicide	9.42
Assault	8.55
Rape	5.98
Commercialized vice.....	3.83
B. Crimes against property:	
Arson	12.97
Stolen property; buying, receiving, etc.....	11.58
Embezzlement and fraud.....	10.86
Forgery and counterfeiting.....	6.64
Larceny	5.72
Burglary	2.37
Robbery	1.13
Auto theft.....	0.79

Table I shows the leading position of sex offenses (except rape and commercialized vice) in the group of crimes against the person with criminal homicide being a fairly close second. Among the crimes against property arson ranks surprisingly high, particularly if one considers that it is a rural crime and that the data reflected in the Uniform Crime Reports come mostly from urban areas. Next to arson rank property violations which require physical vigor such as burglary and robbery are low on the list. Auto thefts rank lowest.

These findings confirm a previous investigation of this problem by the writer based on data from the Uniform Crime Reports 1935-1937. A computation of the quotients of decrease between highest incidence and incidence in the 50+ group for various crimes then showed that sex offenses (other than rape and commercialized vice) had the

(*) Based on Unif. Crime Rep., Fourth Quart. Bull., 1941, Table 92, p. 205.

smallest decrease, embezzlement, fraud, and receiving, etc. of stolen property more but also comparatively little decrease, and violent property crimes a very strong decrease:⁽⁸⁾

TABLE II

The participation of offenders of 50 years and over in the total number of arrests for petty offenses reported by Uniform Crime Reports for 1941 arranged in order of magnitude.*

Type of Offenses	Percentage of total for all ages
Drunkenness	18.68
Viol. liquor laws.....	13.36
Vagrancy	12.44
Gambling	11.76

The data reflected in Table II show the prevalence of petty offenses in the criminality of old offenders. Drunkenness ranks highest with violations of liquor laws next. However, it has to be kept in mind that we are dealing here with arrests and not with offenders. Alcoholism is a chronic condition and our societal reaction to it are jail sentences from between 5 to 10 days in a large majority of cases. This leads alcoholics back and forth to the jails and thus causes a bias in the relation between these arrests and offenders.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE CRIME RATE

In order to get information concerning this question it seems necessary to follow the crime rate of the various types of offenses as closely as possible. So far it has been assumed on the basis of data from the United States, England, France, Germany, and Italy that the crime rate declines with advancing years. This was based on a comparison of incidence figures for age brackets of various length with the old age bracket usually showing much lumping together such as 50+, 60+, etc.⁽⁹⁾ No account was taken of the development of the crime rate in the old age period so summarily covered. Following a suggestion of George V. Mayr's⁽¹⁰⁾ the writer tried, therefore, in this investigation

(*) Based on Unif. Crime Reports, Fourth Quart. Bulletin, 1941, Table 92, p. 205.

(8) Pollak, *op. cit.*, pp. 220-221.

(9) Pollak, *op. cit.*, p. 217-219.

(10) Georg v. Mayr, *Statistik und Gesellschaftslehre*, Dritter Band, Moralstatistik mit Einschluss der Kriminalstatistik, Tuebingen, J. C. B. Mohr, 1917, p. 707.

to collect data which would permit him to trace the development of the crime rate for single years of life in the period of interest, starting, however, with 50 years of age instead of with 70 as V. Mayr recommended. Tables III and IV give the results of this attempt.

TABLE III

Development of the rate of selected crimes in the 50-70 age period for single years of life according to Pennsylvania State Prison Admissions 1941-1942 (Rate per 1000's of corresponding age groups in the state population.)

Age	Crim. Homicide	Aggr. Ass't	Sex Offenses
50	0.014	0.014	0.014
51		0.039	0.039
52			0.112
53			0.057
54	0.057	0.057	0.076
55	0.038	0.019	0.077
56	0.020		0.041
57	0.046	0.023	0.092
58			
59	0.024		
60			0.022
61			0.032
62	0.054	0.027	0.054
63			0.082
64			0.029
65	0.026		
66			0.037
67		0.037	
68			0.039
69			0.043

TABLE IV

Development of the rate of selected crime in the 50-70 age period for single years of life according to Court Commitments to County Prisons in Pennsylvania 1941-1942 (Rates per 1000's of corresponding age groups in the state population.)

Age	Minor Ass't	Robbery & Burgl.	Larcent, Fraud, R. S. P.	Forgery Counterf.	Viol. L. Ls.
50	0.072	0.043	0.057		
51	0.097	0.019	0.214	0.019	0.039
52	0.112	0.064	0.080	0.048	0.016
53	0.076		0.095	0.038	
54	0.057	0.094	0.094		0.019
55	0.077	0.019	0.038	0.038	0.038
56	0.082		0.102		0.041
57	0.023	0.069	0.023		
58	0.022		0.086		0.043
59	0.047		0.071		0.047
60	0.043		0.043	0.022	0.043
61	0.032	0.032	0.128		0.064
62	0.027	0.027	0.054		
63	0.082				
64	0.029	0.029			0.029
65	0.053		0.026		0.026
66	0.074				
67	0.037	0.037	0.037		
68		0.039	0.079	0.079	
69	0.043				

These tables suggest that it was probably unfounded to assume that the decline of the crime rate continues steadily with advancing years. With the exception of minor assault all offenses or offense groups investigated by the writer show a higher incidence for the last year of the fifties for which a figure was available than for the beginning of this ten year period.. Even the twenty years span between 50 and 70 years of age shows generally higher incidence figures for the end than for the beginning with the one additional exception of robbery and burglary. Criminal homicide, aggravated assault, sex offenses, the group of non-violent crimes against property, and violations of the liquor laws all show higher rates in the late sixties than at 50 or 51.

If not only beginning and end figures are compared, we find a picture of more or less general rise in the early and some indications of decline in the late fifties. A somewhat similar although less pronounced cycle can be observed for the sixties. Only violations of the liquor laws show a movement of their own increasing until about 60 years of age and then showing decline. A possible explanation of the two cycles observed for the other crimes may be that for certain numbers of people the crisis of old age sets in at the early fifties and for others in the early sixties, but that for both groups it means an increase in criminality. At any rate it may be conjectured that youth as well as old age bring rises in certain crimes although on a smaller scale in the case of the latter.

II. WHO ARE OUR OLD OFFENDERS?

As to the personal characteristics of the old offender group the following aspects of this problem were investigated: The participation of first offenders, the participation of the colored group, the participation of males and females, and the participation of married persons in old age crime. The latter three have not been investigated before and, therefore, could not be checked against other evidence.

THE PARTICIPATION OF FIRST OFFENDERS

Material from the United States, Germany, and the Netherlands have been reported indicating that the incidence of first offenders in the old age group is relatively high and that it increases with the advance of years within the age group.⁽¹¹⁾

Data from Pennsylvania commitments for the fiscal year 1941-42 furnish further evidence to this effect.

(11) B. L. Schroeder, "Criminal Behavior in the Later Period of Life", *American Journal of Psychiatry*, vol. 92 (1936), pp. 915-24, p. 924.

G. Aschaffenburg, *Crime and Its Repression*, Boston, Little Brown & Co., p. 154. Sellin, *op. cit.*, p. 108

v. Mayr, *op. cit.*, pp. 797-798.

TABLE V

Percentage of first offenders in selected age groups for homicide, aggravated assault and sex offenses in Pennsylvania State Prison Admissions 1941-42.

Type of crime	Percentage of first offenders		
	21-29	50-59	60+
Crim. hom.....	69	69	67
Aggr. ass't.....	49	38	50
Sex offenses.....	74	56	70

TABLE VI

Percentage of first offenders in selected age groups for major groups of crimes against property in court commitments to County Prisons in Pennsylvania for 1941-42.

Type of crime	Percentage of first offenders		
	21-29	50-59	60+
Robbery and burglary.....	67	56	75
Larceny, fraud, stolen property, embezzlement	73	66	100
Forgery and counterfeiting.....	60	71	
Viol. liquor laws.....	94	90	83

These tables show majorities of first offenders in all offenses groups with the exception of aggravated assault in the 50-59 as well as the 60+ group, and they show, with two exceptions, higher percentages of first offenders in the 60+ group than in the 50-59 group. An interesting observation can also be made with respect to the incidence of first offenders in the 21-29 group. Here we have a rather close similarity with the old age group.

THE PARTICIPATION OF THE COLORED GROUP

The first question that suggested itself was: Do colored men over 50 years of age participate in crime to the same degree as white men of the same group, or is there a difference? The following tables are suggestive of an answer to this question.

TABLE VII

Participation of white and colored offenders of 50 years and over in Pennsylvania State Prison Admissions 1941-42 for selected crimes (Rates per 1000's of corresponding age and race groups in the state population.)

Type of crime	W.	C.	Interracial Difference Quotient
Crim. hom.	0.006	0.187	31.2
Aggr. ass't.	0.003	0.187	62.4
Sex offenses	0.033	0.107	3.2

Participation of white and colored offenders of 50 years and over in Court Commitments to Pennsylvania County Prisons 1941-42 for selected crimes (Rates per 1000's of corresponding age and race groups in the state population.)

TABLE VIII

Type of crime	W.	C.	Interracial Difference Quotient
Minor ass't.	0.028	0.668	23.9
Robbery & burglary	0.015	0.214	14.3
Larceny, fraud, stolen property, embezzlement ..	0.040	0.401	10.0
Forgery	0.011	—	—
Viol. liquor laws ..	0.009	0.294	32.7

The writer is aware of the fact how much racial discrimination in law enforcement may have biased the distribution in these two tables, but one factor should not be overlooked in their evaluation. The interracial difference quotient is highly dissimilar for various types of crimes. If discrimination only was responsible for the seemingly larger participation of the colored group, the differences between an interracial difference quotient of 62.4 for aggravated assault and of 3.2 for sex offenses could hardly be explained. We may assume, therefore, that the participation of the colored offenders over 50 years of age in crime is probably larger than the participation of the corresponding white group

and that the higher participation is particularly pronounced for aggravated assault in the group of major offenses against the person and for violation of the liquor laws in the group of petty offenses. It is also worth while to consider that there is only a very small difference in the participation of colored and white persons in sex offenses which is especially interesting because sex offenses are among the characteristic crimes of old age.

The next question which seemed interesting was whether the relative decrease of incidence of various crimes at the 50+ level was the same for colored and white persons. A comparison of the incidence of white and colored delinquency between the 21-29 years and the 50+ group and particularly of the corresponding decrease quotients throws some light on this problem.

TABLE IX

Incidence of colored and white delinquency in the 21-29 and 50+ groups and quotients of decrease in Pennsylvania State Prison admissions 1941-42 for selected crimes (Rates per 1000's of corresponding age and race groups in the state population).

Type of crime	White		Colored		Interage decrease	
	21-29 incidence	50+ incidence	21-29 incidence	50+ incidence	quotients W. C.	
Crim. hom.	0.013	0.006	0.570	0.187	2.17	3.05
Ag. ass't	0.038	0.003	0.792	0.187	12.66	4.24
Sex off.	0.049	0.033	0.443	0.107	1.48	4.14

TABLE X

Incidence of colored and white delinquency in the 21-29 and 50+ groups and quotients of decrease in the Court Commitments to Pennsylvania County Prisons 1941-42 for selected crimes (Rates per 1000's of corresponding age and race groups in the state population).

Type of crime	White		Colored		Interage decrease quotients	
	21-29 incidence	50+ incidence	21-29 incidence	50+ incidence	W.	C.
Minor ass.	0.131	0.028	3.611	0.668	6.68	5.41
Robbery & assault	0.242	0.015	3.579	0.214	16.13	16.72
Larceny, fraud, st. p., embezzl.	0.239	0.040	2.502	0.401	5.97	6.24
Forgery	0.037	0.011	0.031		3.36	
Viol. liqu. l.	0.006	0.009	0.475	0.294	0.67	1.62

If we arrange the quotients of interage decrease in order of magnitude we get the following picture.

TABLE XI

Relative decrease of incidence of various crimes for white and colored offenders in the 50+ group according to interage decrease quotients in order of magnitude.

White		Colored	
Type of crime	Decrease quotient	Type of crime	Decrease quotient
Viol. liqu. l.	0.67	Viol. liqu. l..	1.62
Sex off.	1.48	Crim. hom.	3.05
Crim. hom.	2.17	Sex off	4.14
Min. ass't	4.68	Ag. ass't	4.24
Larc., etc.	5.97	Min. ass't	5.41
Ag. ass't	12.66	Larceny, etc.	6.24
Robb. & Burg.	16.13	Robb. & burg.	16.72

This table would suggest that the relative decrease of incidence of various crimes at the 50+ level is fairly much the same for both the colored and the white group. Violations of the liquor laws are the leaders in importance as far as relative decrease of their incidence is concerned. Seen from the same angle robbery and burglary have the least importance in the crimes of the old offenders no matter of what race they are. Sex offenses and criminal homicide are the most important in both groups next to violations of the liquor laws although in reversed relative positions which may well be due to chance in this particular sample.

The Participation of Males and Females

The proportion of women among offenders of 50 years and over is almost negligible. In the whole group of criminal homicides, aggravated assaults, and sex offenses reflected in the Commitment figures to Pennsylvania state prisons 1941-42 there was only one female offender over 50 years of age. The court commitments to county prisons in Pennsylvania for the same fiscal year contain only one case of minor assault, five cases of violations of liquor laws, and two other offenses in the group of non-violent property crimes, in which the offender was a woman in the 50+ group.

The Proportion of Married Persons in the Old Offender Group

An investigation of the participation of married persons in the criminality of old age gave the following results.

TABLE XII

Type of crime	50-54	55-59	60-64	65-69
Crim. homicide				
A. Married, sep., and divorced.*	0.017	0.027		0.010
B. Single and wid.		0.022	0.023	
Aggravated ass't				
A. Married, sep., and divorced.*	0.017	0.005	0.007	0.010
B. Single and wid.	0.020	0.022		
Sex offenses				
A. Married.**	0.009	0.014		
B. Single, div., sep., widowed	0.226	0.136	0.131	0.062

(*) For criminal homicide and aggravated assault marriage as a possible source of friction required common consideration of the married, the separated and the divorced.

(**) For sex offenses the crime provoking situation required common consideration of the single, the separated, the divorced and the widowed.

TABLE XIII

The participation of married, separated, divorced, widowed, and single males of 50 years and over in crimes against property as reflected in Court Commitments to County Prisons in Pennsylvania 1941-42 (Rates per 1000's of corresponding groups in the state population).

Type of crime	50-54	55-59	60-64	65-69
Robbery & burglary				
A. Married	0.135	0.114		0.108
B. All others	1.353	0.340	0.561	0.207
Larceny, fraud & embezzlement				
A. Married	0.675	0.229	0.228	0.108
B. All others	2.225	1.870	0.748	0.622
Forgery & Counterf'tg				
A. Married	0.135		0.076	0.108
B. All others	0.451	0.340		0.207
Viol. liquor laws				
A. Married	0.135	0.229	0.379	
B. All others	0.301	0.680		0.207

These figures suggest that married person whose marriage was not broken had a lower crime rate in all groups of offenses with the one and only exception of criminal homicide. This exception fits well together with the observation that a large number of victims of old murderers are either wives or relatives of the offender. However, in general it can be stated that the majority of old offenders are either persons who never married or persons with broken marriages.

III. HOW DO THEY COMMIT THEIR CRIMES?

Specific behavior patterns in the criminality of old age have been described particularly for sex offenses and criminal homicides.

Sex Offenses

It has been assumed that the victims of old sex offenders are usually children, mainly girls but also little boys. The type of the criminal approach is described as characteristically lacking in violence; the old men promise the children some small coin or candy, join them in their play, or try to establish some other seemingly harmless contact. The old offenders are said to attempt mostly substitute action for the coitus, particularly touching of genitals, or exhibiting themselves in front of children. Lack of foresight as to detection is supposed to be general in these offenses.⁽¹²⁾

These statements are based on the observations of individual cases without supporting statistical evidence. The writer undertook to look for such evidence and collected case descriptions of the sex offenses of persons of fifty years and over who in the years 1940 and 1941 had been brought before the Morals Court in Pittsburgh. The Morals Court is a Magistrates Court in Police Station No. 1 in Pittsburgh with jurisdiction over the whole area of the city proper. Only those cases were selected which led either to a fine or to a decision of holding the prisoner for action by a criminal court of record. There were 53 such cases for the years 1940 and 1941. The files of the Morals Court contain for each case a statement of the arresting officer, of the prosecuting witnesses and of the defendant in sufficient detail to yield material on the

(12) Pieszcek, (no first name indicated), "Die gerichtsärztliche Bedeutung der senilen psychischen Erkrankungen", *Allgemeine Zeitschrift fuer Psychiatrie und Psychiatrisch Gerichtliche Medizin*, vol. 73, (1917), pp. 393-427, p. 407.

H. Zingerle, "Ueber das Greisenalter in forensischer Bedeutung", *Archiv fuer Kriminal-Anthropologie und Kriminalistik*, vol. 40, (1910), pp. 1-54, p. 30, p. 38, and others.

questions mentioned and on certain other points such as the type of place in which the offense was committed, the type of defense advanced, and the question whether the children had solicited money from the old offender under the promise of sex play. Unfortunately, 53 cases are a very unsatisfactory number on which to base conclusions, but in view of the amount and the unplanned collection of the observations on which the description of these characteristics has been based until now they may offer desirable additional evidence.

These are the results:

A. The type of victims

Among the 53 cases investigated there were 5 in which the old men were caught in raids on houses of prostitution and fined for visiting them. In these cases we can hardly speak of a "victim" in the sense in which we use it in other sex offenses. In 13 of the other cases the victim was a grown up person, and in the remaining 35 cases the age of the victims ranged between 3 years and 16 years. In one of these 35 cases one victim was 7 and the other 17 years of age which is very unusual because in all the other cases where an offender attacked several victims these belonged more or less to the same age group such as 8 and 9 years, or 12 and 13 years, etc. In one case the victims were 15 and 16 years of age and in 2 cases of exhibitionism the records did not indicate the age of the victims but reported them only in the plural form of "children". In the remaining 31 cases the children were between 3 and 14 years old, with 12 years the largest specific age represented among them.

In 14 cases more than one child was attacked. This brought the number of children questioned as prosecuting witnesses in the 31 cases in which their age was available up to 52. It is important to consider this numerical divergence between the number of offenders and the number of child victims because it shows that in a number of cases the old men's desires were not individualized. The object of the attack was only generally defined, and it may be conjectured that within the limits of this general definition almost any child might have fitted into the pattern of the attack.

As to the sex of the children the investigation showed that in 26 cases the victims were girls, in 6 cases boys, in 2 cases girls and boys, and in one case of indecent exposure the sex of the children to whom the old man had exhibited himself was not indicated in the records.

In 2 cases out of the 35 child victim cases the children were relatives of the offender; in one case the child was a grand-daughter and in the other a step grand daughter of the offender. In the 33 other cases the children were strangers. This picture may well be biased by the fact that a family relationship between offender and victim is adverse to detection.

For purposes of summarization these findings can be presented in tabular form as follows:

TABLE XIV

Distribution of children and grownups among the victims of aged offenders.

Type of victim	No. of cases	Percentage of Total
Grown up	13	27
Children in		
A. "One victim" cases	21	44
B. "More than one victim" cases	14	29
	—	—
Total	48	100

The preponderance of child victims is apparent.

TABLE XV

Modal distributions of age-, sex-, and relationship characteristics among the child victims of aged offenders.

Characteristic	Specification of modal type	Number of cases	Percentage of total
Age	11-13 years	15	43**
Sex	female	26	74
Relationship	strangers	32	91

* Only such cases were counted where at least the majority of the victims fell in this age group.

** This percentage may be slightly inaccurate because the two cases in which the age of the child victims was not available were included in the total.

In this sample the child victims show relative concentration in the 11-13 years age group, but the concentration is not very pronounced. Our assumption that the child victims were mainly girls but also some little boys seems to be supported. The child victims in the cases investigated were mostly strangers to the offender.

B. Violence and non-violence in the criminal approach

In the 35 child victim cases 21 showed bribery by money or candy. In one of these 21 cases there were also indications of violence. The amount of money ranged from pennies to one dollar.

From the remaining 14 cases we have to exclude those where the situation did not require any special attempt at overcoming resistance. First of all there were 3 cases of exhibitionism to children on the street, where no active participation and therefore no inducement of the children was necessary. Then there were two cases in which the victims were 3 and 4 years of age respectively thus being more objects than partners of the offense. This reduces the group of cases to be considered regarding possible violence to 9. Among these 9 cases there was one where the step grand father started a regular attempt of courtship, one where the offender was an attendant in a swimming pool who pretended to dry the children, and one where the offender told the child that boys and girl came to him for play and used this pretense of harmless play for his approach. In only 6 cases there was indication of violence.

In the 13 cases where the victim was a grown up person 4 showed some type of bribery. From the remaining 9 cases 8 have to be excluded because the situation did not require the overcoming of any resistance so that only one case showed any violence in the criminal approach. The necessary caution in the consideration of such small numbers must be stressed again.

The tabular summary offers this picture.

TABLE XVI

Violence and non violence in the criminal approach of aged sex offenders.

Child victims	No. of cases	Grownup victims	No. of cases
Cases with no reason for overcoming res- istance		Cases with no reason for overcoming res- istance	
A. Exhibitionism	3	A. Exhibitionism	3
B. Age of victim	2	B. Prostitution	
		Soliciting	2
		Keeping a house	3
Cases with reasons for overcoming res- istance		Cases with reasons for overcoming res- istance	
A. Lack of violence		A. Lack of violence	
Bribery	2	Bribery	20
Other	3	Other	2
B. Violence	1	B. Violence	6
C. Both	1		
Total	35	Total	13

The contention that old sex offenders refrain largely from violence seems to be supported by these cases.

C. The type of satisfaction sought

Information in this respect is difficult to get because of our cultural restraints in recording the minutia of these offenses.

However, in the child victim group of 35 cases there were only 2 cases in which even the charge of completed sexual intercourse was made. The other 33 cases represent various degrees and forms of substitute actions ranging through the whole scale from kissing and fondling children to intercourse resembling acts. No further numerical breakdown can be attempted with the material at hand, but it seems rather satisfactorily shown that in this group of cases substitute action outweighed decisively the occurrence of normal sexual gratification.

Among the 13 cases in which the victim was a grownup person there are three cases of exhibitionism, one case of sodomy and one case in which sodomy was suggested to a passer-by, all together 5 cases of substitute action. The remaining 8 cases indicate completed sexual intercourse. The small number of cases in this group does not yield any tenable conclusion in itself particularly in view of the lack of any clear cut preponderance regarding either substitute actions or completed intercourse.

The only generalized statement which may be risked is that the old offender who attacks children is prone to commit substitute actions and that the majority of old offenders attack children.

D. Lack of foresight

Lack of foresight on the part of apprehended offenders may seem a foregone conclusion, but it may well be assumed that even offenders who did not escape discovery show various degrees of foresight in the way they committed their crimes. If—as happened in one of the cases investigated—the old offender committed his sex delinquencies only on Sunday while his wife was in church, we may concede him some foresight although his offenses were discovered by the parents of the child victim. We may also assume that an offender who takes the children into the backroom behind his store after their having apparently made a purchase shows more foresight than the one who approaches children in a public park and involves them in sex play behind the bushes.

In the decision whether an offender showed foresight or not his way of dealing with either one of these factors was considered: choice of time; choice of place; choice of victim; reaction to warnings by neighbors, or to resistance of the victim. The most decisive lack of foresight was shown in the choice of the place for the offense. In this respect the old offenders bungled in 24 cases. In 3 cases there was lack of foresight in the choice of the victim. In 4 cases the old offender neglected warnings. In 5 cases they took no heed of the resistance shown by the victim. In 2 cases information was insufficient for any decision regarding this question.

In summary it can be said that lack of foresight in at least one of these respects was shown in 36 cases out of 46 (78%) in which any such statement could be made. Thus again the prevailing notion of the old offender being characteristically lacking in foresight gains support from the cases in the sample.

Criminal Homicide

According to German writers old age homicides are characterized by a special group of victims: They are said to be very often either the wives or other near relatives of female sex. In many cases suspicion and mistrust has been observed as motivation, suspicion often showing a sexual tinge and thus explaining the relatively high number of wives, daughters and daughters-in-law among the victims of old offenders.⁽¹³⁾

A statistical investigation of the behavior pattern of old offenders in criminal homicide could not be attempted due to the insufficient numbers of cases available to the writer. However, corroborative case material in addition to that already reported in the literature can be presented. On the basis of the material from Leon T. Stern's study of the effect of the depression on prison commitments and sentences⁽¹⁴⁾ the writer was able to trace all cases of criminal homicide in Eastern State Penitentiary admissions over a ten year period in which the offender was either 60 years or older. There were only 14 such cases and of these only 9 could be made available to the writer by John D. Shearer, senior psychologist of the Penitentiary, who undertook the burdensome task of searching the stacks of inactive records for this material. Thus these cases were not produced by any bias of recollection but by the unselective hand of purely technical availability.

Among these 9 cases there were 5 in which the wife and one in which the daughter-in-law were the victims of the old offender; in 3 cases the victim was a stranger of male sex. In the 5 cases in which the wife was the victim the term "wife" has to be understood as comprising also common law relation and simple life companionship. In 4 of these 5 cases the motive of the offender was some notion of loss. In one case the murderer had lost his business in the depression and wanted to save his wife from the impact of poverty, attempting suicide after he had killed her. In 3 cases the marriage relationship had come to an end by separation instigated by the woman. In one case the old man killed his life companion in a fit of drunkenness and the underly-

(13) Bresler, *op. cit.*, p. 45
Pieszczyk, *op. cit.*, p. 401.
Zingerle, *op. cit.*, p. 42

(14) Leon T. Stern, "The Effect of the Depression on Prison Commitments and Sentences", *Journal of the American Institute of Criminal Law and Criminology*, vol. XXXI, (1940-41), pp. 696-711. The research card material of this study has been preserved and has great value for the tracing of case material regarding various personal characteristics of offenders of serious crimes.

ing motive could not be ascertained. The old man who killed his daughter-in-law was motivated by anger over the discovery that she betrayed his son. In two among the 3 cases in which strangers were the victims of the homicidal attack the motive was irritation over the attempt of the victims to get money from the offender and in one case the killing occurred in a drunken brawl among several men in which there was a possibility that the old man had been framed by the other men participating.

A certain preference of the supposedly characteristic victims of old age homicide and of the motivation of suspicion as related to the notion of loss is corroborated by this case material.

Summary

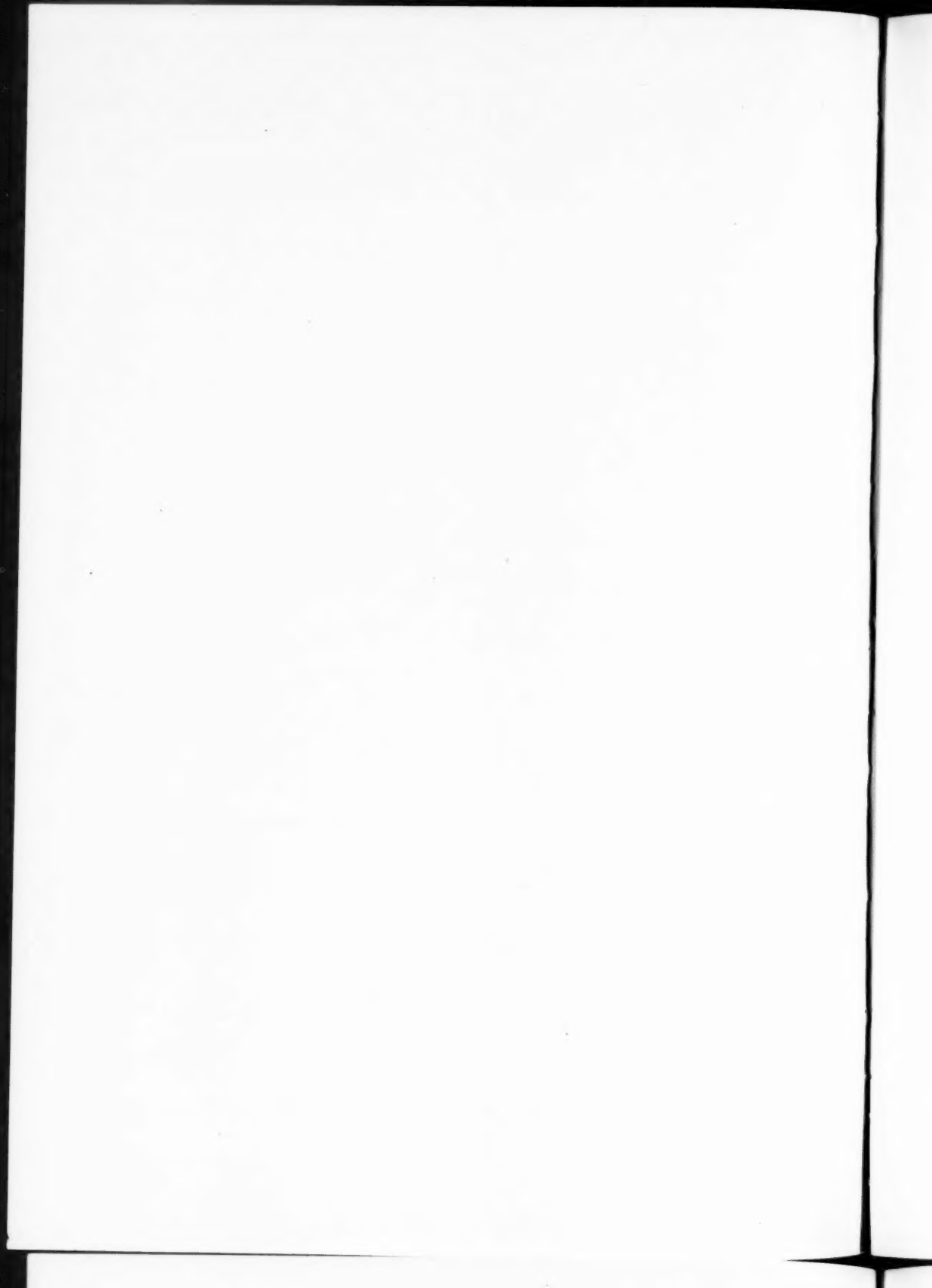
On the basis of the investigations reported the following notions have received supporting evidence.

1. The participation of the 50+ group in crime as reflected in available arrest figures is only about half of what might be expected if it was in proportion to their participation in the general population.
2. The criminality of the 50+ group varies considerably for the various types of crime. Sex offenses other than rape and commercialized vice have a leading position among the offenses against the person; offenses requiring mental exertions rank clearly before those requiring physical violence among their crimes against property; their participation in petty offenses is significantly stronger than it is in the major types of crime.
3. The crime rate between 50 and 70 years of age does not go down according to expectations of a continuous decline. It shows rises in a great number of offenses though it does not reach the peak figures in the age periods of highest incidence.
4. The high incidence of first offenders in the 50+ group seems established.
5. Colored persons participate in the criminality of the 50+ group to a higher extent than whites. However, the relative decrease of incidence between the 21-29 and the 50+ group as a whole is fairly similar for colored and white offenders.
6. Females do not participate in the visible criminality of the 50+ group to any considerable extent.

7. In the 50+ group offenders with an unbroken marriage have a lower crime rate than the single, divorced, etc. with the exception of criminal homicide where the relation seems to be reversed.

8. A specific behavior pattern regarding sex offenses and criminal homicide in the 50+ group seems to exist. The majority of the victims in sex offenses are children. Violence is seldom used. The type of satisfaction sought is mostly of a substitute character. A characteristic lack of foresight can be observed in the majority of cases.

The contention that the majority of victims in the criminal homicides of the 50+ group are either wives or near relatives of female sex seems to be supported. The motivation of the homicidal attack seems to be usually a reaction to some notion of loss.



LINGUISTICS AND POLITICAL CRIMINOLOGY

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"Fork and spoon samples arrived." This meant, in the code of the outlawed National Socialist party in Austria, that the hour for the uprising had struck. Similar codes were used in Germany before 1933. Criminalists know that it is the particular kind of code with which the evidence needed for the conviction ever rests. The words and ideas of the code are connected with the ideas and instructions of either the principal or the abettors or the participants in the deed. Such codes do not stem from the sphere of artistic or poetic imagination. From psychopathology the symptom of Ganzer is known. The answers are not correct but they are approximate. Analysts will always show that the apparently incorrect answer has some relation to the matter embraced in the question.⁽¹⁾ The Ganzer borderline symptom is in between full conscious malingering and subconscious states. If the answer to the problem Two Plus Two is not 17 or 185 but 3, we are obviously confronted with a force that opposes the tendency toward complete senselessness. And the resultant is that small deviation or detour which causes a near hit. They mangle by the skin of their teeth, as it were. Small wonder that this same force is recognizable in all rationally constructed secret codes. The key is mostly simple and the deviation of the needle insignificant. One should keep in mind that such secret languages are not the outgrowth of exuberant life. It isn't the imagination or elation or that gigantic force of national life; it is squinting fear and the situation of smuggled letters that account for this language. The psychology of prison language was analyzed by James Hargan.⁽²⁾ The secrecy of the code as such may be discounted. The emotional rewards, the author thinks, are important. The criminal in jail may derive some satisfaction from scorning the conventional vocabulary, may also earn for himself that modicum of respect which mankind always has accorded to those able to speak in unknown tongues.

(1) Stedman, *Medical Dictionary*, 14th edit, 1939, p. 440.

(2) Hargan, James, *The Psychology of Prison Language*, (Psychologist, Classification Clinic, Sing-Sing Prison, J. Abnorm. Soc. Psychol., vol. 30, 1935, 359-365.

He also may satisfy his herd instincts. The author then lists certain mechanisms known in linguistics as metaphoric language, metonymy, synecdoche. The result of his investigations is a valuable dictionary bearing out one of the theses of the author, that the last aim of all this is to soften an emotionally unbearable situation! Instances: Typewriter or Chatterbox for machine gun; Hot Seat for electric chair; Being Taken For A Ride for death; Big Boy for principal keeper; Dancehall for anteroom of the electric chamber

Another author who has enriched our knowledge is Alfredo Niciforo.⁽³⁾ The technical methods which he considers are metaphors, changes of the first and last letter, intrusion of certain syllables in the 'Pig-Latin' method, and that method of condensations and elisions which was described by Freud in his *Theory of The Wit* and *Analysis of the Dreams*.⁽⁴⁾ "Il Gergo, the secret language of plain folks in the provinces of Italy is a kind of protective armor, a kryptography of those connected in friendship and love, occupations, class, political passion and crime, who at the same time are in need of a covered communication system. The Argot originates in its inconspicuous embryonic shape between two lovers and then it waxes to become a complete language in the shade of crime."

There is a difference in the basic situation from which the results were derived, which is important to keep in mind. While Hargan saw the criminal in jail, Niciforo analyzed the resemblances between the language of criminals at large with those of plain folks. It is obvious that the latter case is particularly interesting for the F. B. I., the state or federal prosecution authorities.

Common sense and scientific thinking have collaborated for quite a time for the purpose of getting the criminal's 'own story'.⁽⁵⁾ There is, in my possession, that famous book by Georg Paul Hoenn⁽⁶⁾, which, though not itemizing the linguistic expressions, lists the criminal tricks, develops the social criminology of the then existing professions and oc-

(3) Niciforo, Alfredo, *Le Génie de l'Argot*, 1912; *Anthropology of the Under-privileged Classes*, quoted from the German edition published in 1910, translated by Robert Michels, p. 414 ff. Zipf, G. K., *Psycho-biology of Language*, Houghton Mifflin, Boston, 1935, (xi and 336 p).

(4) Kraepelin, Emil, *Ueber Sprachstörungen im Traume*, Lpz, Engelmann Verlag, 1906.

(5) Shaw, Clifford R., with collaborators, *Delinquency Areas*, U. of Chic., 1929.

(6) Hoenn, Georg Paul, *Betrugs Lexicon*, (Dictionary of Cheating) 3rd edit., 1724, Coburg.

cupations and in this way gives a good survey of the terminology. This was one of the most brilliant attempts of that time.

Analogies with the slang of criminals at large may be found in the slang of children and adolescent gangs. Children prefer mere sound associations and alliteration.⁽⁷⁾ Most of the 'Eeny-Meeny' verses are of this nature. The part of mere sound associations in rationally constructed codes is small. They will only have to be considered if there is a reason to assume the interference of primitive thinking.

In Molières Femmes Savantes, those women are ridiculed who speak not of cheeks but of the throne of chastity, or of the two pillars that support the trunk instead of the legs. But the same ceremoniously circumstantial method is found where the primitive doesn't utter a name because that name is tabooed. The Jakuts in North Siberia call the bear the quadruped racer. They speak of the pacer of the forests. In the fairy tales and sagas animals are introduced by names of persons like Reynold the Fox, Leo the Lion, etc. Owing to the endeavors of psychologists, ethnologists and anthropologists, we understand today this type of naming. At any rate, Juliet's theory is absolutely insufficient. The name and word of Rose is connected with that sweet smelling object, at least for the primitives, the poets and the criminals. In experiments on primitive abstraction⁽⁸⁾ and on the function of naming⁽⁹⁾, it was found that abstraction does not consist in forgetting the unequal and emphasizing the equal parts. It is rather a biological process of stressing and combining those equal or unequal parts that might be important. By the same token, a bio-psychological entity is built up between the object and the name, and in this process of mutual adjustment it is often the object that is changed, therefore the old experience that the words may become creative of the things. For the primitive, too, there is a functional identity of word and thing, which probably follows that process described by the experimental psychologists. To call a name means exercising sway over the thing and, on the other hand, being liable to the reaction of. Calling names means conjuring the souls of the things.

(7) "Ibbity, bibbity, ibbity sad,
Ibbity bibbity, canalboat,
Dictionary, down the ferry.
Out goes y-o-u."

(8) Eliasberg, Wladimir, *Psychologie und Pathologie der Abstraktion*, 1924 Leipzig.

Such linguistic magics have been preserved in the sphere of crime. And the facts that crime on the whole stems from 'down-below' and primitive and youthful personalities are more often involved in deeds are apt to confirm such interpretation. However, putting the whole burden and blame on the individual is both theoretically and practically unsatisfactory. There are sociological conditions to be considered; the sociological situation of the political crime and especially the widespread political conspiracy, at a certain stage at least, resembles the primitive society: Formation of gangs, strong ties among the members, with the judiciary, the executive and the legislative power, if these expressions may be used in such context, united in the person of the leader. On the other hand, secrecy and seclusion, and repulsion of the 'outgroup-world'.

In the years between the two world wars, many examples could be gathered in Germany and from German literature. We therefore shall give the German original text together with the translation. Shortly after the war, the reconstruction of Germany was attempted by secret associations, (Geheimbunde), blood fraternities, (Blutbrüderschaft) blood and knight orders, (Blutorden), most of these associations containing an element of homosexuality which as laid bare by such authors as Blüher⁽¹⁰⁾. This phase is best illustrated in the book by Ernst von Salomon⁽¹¹⁾: "From all parts of the Reich, the young people gathered together in the express train, without any march order, and any previous advice. All of a sudden we felt in our veins the grasping, jumping, springy, resiliency and power . . . and Mitau was a flame and the Latvian hammered shot after shot into our rows . . . orders from the chief, somebody said. That was sufficient . . . Before us there lay a toppled machine gun . . . Someone stepped on my toe and as I nudged back their followed words and we recognized one another in a kind of lightning stroke."⁽¹²⁾

There is certainly a need for mutual understanding between those 'in the know' but beneath this there are many more primitive disposi-

(9) Ach, N., *Ueber die Begriffsbildung*, Bamberg, C. C. Buchner, 1921.

(10) Blüher, Hans, *Wandervogel, Geschichte einer Jugendbewegung*, 5. Auf. Prien, 1920; *Führer und Volk in der Jugendbewegung*, Jena, 1919.

(11) Salomon, Ernst von, *Die Geäuteten*, (The Outlawed) Rowohlt, Berlin, 1930.

(12) "Wir waren plötzlich durchströmt von einer federnden, fassenden, springenden Kraft . . . Und Mitau brannte und der Letzte jagte Schuss auf Schuss zu uns . . . Befehl vom "Chef", sagte jemand, das genügt . . . Vor uns lag ein umgestürzttest SMG . . . Einer trat mir auf den Fuss, da ich wiedertrat ergab sich ein Gespräch, dessen Wirkung bald durch blitzhaftes Erkennen stark gewandelt wurde . . ."

tions that come to the fore in such an apparently rational situation. Defense, staving off, strife and struggle, give momentum to primitive emotions. All this is reflected in the language which becomes a queer 'cocktail' mixture of stale rational analogies interspersed with strange undertones and hardly understandable allusions.

The use of the word 'Chief' is very characteristic of the ritualistic taboo. In hospitals, seminars, law schools, in military and political organizations, in big business, the same word is used. Is this only a handy abbreviation? To a certain degree. But on the other hand the analogy with the tabooed names of God and the King, among primitives, is striking.

The linguistic and socio-linguistic considerations in the prosecution of political crimes must be followed by the application of the results of modern ecology. Authors like Clifford Shaw, E. W. Burgess⁽¹³⁾ and Thrasher followed the gradients, "the rates of change of variable conditions like poverty, home ownership, birth or divorce from the standpoint of their distribution over a given area." Delinquency, too, and linguistic changes are factors obeying the law of the gradients."

In an article published in 1937,⁽¹⁴⁾ this was analyzed in more detail. The metropolitan population stems to a good deal not from the metropolitan area itself, and the ties of rural or foreign life are being preserved for quite a time. The metropolis is not a melting pot. History, statistics, criminology, the reports of police and court, are therefore better sources for the understanding of the metropolis than would be a moving picture taken from the air. In the great French revolution the different districts marched with their banners and could be differentiated by their blood thirst. It is a criminalistic experience that the members of active political terrorist associations are living in certain districts of the metropolitan area. On the basis of this experience the terrorists were searched out successfully in that short period of reorganization that followed the July murders in Vienna 1934.

(13) Burgess, E. W., *The Determination of Gradients in the Growth of the City*, Publications of the Amer. Sociological Society, vol. XXI, 1927; *The Urban Community*, Univ. of Chicago Press, 1925!; Thrasher, Frederick M., *The Gang*, Chicago, The Univ. of Chicago Press, 1927.

(14) Eliasberg, W., Skizzen zur Biologie der Grossstadt, *Brünner Tagesbote*, July 30th, 1937.

Linguistics and ecology may help one another as the spoken word is a kind of address card. "The boy's own story" must be recorded also in his own dialect, and must be broken down to show his geographical living space.

Summary: 1. Linguistics, socio-linguistics, and ecology offer valuable helps to the criminalist in trailing down political crimes. 2. Specialists must familiarize themselves with the view points of ecology, and, on the other hand, must have a good working knowledge of the gergo's, the jargons, the group vernacular, and of those types that are actually involved in political crimes. Today practically this is the terminology of the Nationalist Socialist party, its indoctrinating publications and its affiliations. One must also be conversant with the particular admixtures of Chicago, New York, Milwaukee, Pittsburgh, etc. It isn't really the 'boy's own language'; it is much more a group language that matters⁽¹⁵⁾ in political crimes.

⁽¹⁵⁾ Reports on conversations with captured German officers show the amazingly high degree of indoctrination and a monotonous uniformity of attitudes and expressions, while German privates and non-coms have a more individualized type of speech.

SOME SIGNIFICANT RORSCHACH RESPONSES

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Over a period of some five years of Rorschach administration, this writer has been able to note the regular appearance of a few typical responses among patients of like diagnosis. That is, those responses recorded and commented upon below seem to be given with rather astonishing frequency by subjects who eventually fall into specific categories. This is not to say that such responses have particular diagnostic value in and of themselves, but rather that they act somewhat as signposts and roadmarkers along the difficult path of clinical differentiation.

The statistical incidence of such responses as are treated below, and their mathematical correlation with the abnormal entities they seem to accompany, is, of course, open to a question which this note does not attempt to answer. But that they do tend to emerge in the response records of certain patients is a matter of empirical observation substantiated by other clinical material and the eventual psychiatric status achieved. That the experience of this writer is unique in noting such recurrent responses is highly doubtful; similarly, the observations to be recorded are not to be considered exhaustive.

Card I. Lower central D. The response we have been led to expect from the normal male subject is "a female torso." Upon questioning it is evident that this response is achieved through the consideration of the feminine-like distribution of flesh on the hips and a perception of rounded softness in the gluteal muscles. Homosexuals, however, tend to view this area as representative of the male torso, ascribing to it muscular qualities the majority of heterosexually adjusted observers cannot see. This generally has been found to apply to the feminine type male homosexual; while a response such as "a muscular, mannish female," sometimes appears with the masculine type male homosexual.

Card II. Center white space. In the experience of this examiner, so-called normal subjects disregard this area. It appears to be chosen by negativistically inclined persons, those with rigid personality structure, oldsters with fixed and undeviating character patterns, and finally by anxiety neurotics. The response, "a spinning top," is the favorite

of the latter group. It has been observed, however, that the projection of movement onto this area is a hopeful sign, indicative that the inhibition and repression it suggests is not too far below the surface, and the therapeutic possibilities thus more favorable. The static concepts produced from this blot-area seem to be positive indices to personality inelasticity.

Card III. Middle D in "Human" form. The ragged but somewhat rounded projection in the "chest" region of the man-like figure is almost always overlooked by the usual subject. Homosexuals, however, of whatever stamp, are troubled by this feature and hesitate to make a definite declaration regarding the sex of the figure. They seem somehow to be more responsive to slight sex differences in their every-day living, so that the imposition of this small protrusion apparently serves as a reminder of their ambivalent status, and evokes a confusion which expresses itself in hesitation when one inquires as to the sex of the concept. They sometimes solve the problem by a facile, "it must be a couple of women;" a few of the more open variety meet it squarely with "a couple of queers," or "two fellows with breasts."

Card IV. Bulbous areas along lateral aspects of bottom center. The average subject forming a concept from this area usually achieves, "a horse's head," or "the head of some insect." He rarely observes with more than passing interest that the shading characteristics of this region encourage the perception of "a pair of eyes." Nevertheless, persons with strong paranoid tendencies, and those whose symptom-complexes include ideas of influence or reference invariably note the "eyes" and express the opinion that they are "looking at me." The writer has encountered such responses with similar frequency from persons in the grip of strong convictions of inferiority. In the latter, the response undoubtedly represents a projection of the idea of being under the scrutiny of the examiner.

Card VI. Whole blot exclusive of upper D. Those individuals whose life-styles exhibit chaotic sexuality and those whose personality features resemble the anxious neurotic, often view the lower D portion of this card as the prospect which would be presented to the gynecologist upon vaginal examination. Such persons frequently speak of this area as "diseased." A typical response from an anxious psycho-neurotic was "the diseased sex parts of a syphilitic negro woman." The concept is derived by the perceptual invagination of the midline and the shading off into roundness of the wings. A curious but oft-noted

phenomenon is the refusal of some anxious or sexually maladapted patients to acknowledge the "penis" in upper D, but a readiness to point out the resemblance of lower D to the female genitalia.

Card VII. Bottom D. Relatively well-integrated subjects give "a hinge" as their response to the stimulation supplied from this region. A frequent concept formulated by latent homosexuals is "buttocks," with emphasis upon the shading in what is probably regarded as the cloacal area. The special features of this region also provoke notions of penetration, often symbolically disguised and provide sometimes reliable clues to intrapsychic conflict over sexual aims.

Card VIII. Upper D including d of white "bony structure" with blue-grey interlacings. In cases of hysteria and also pronounced anxiety neurosis, this region very often appears as "a head of threatening and forbidding aspect," or "a deaths' head." It is comparatively rare that these two juxtaposed portions of the card are combined in a single concept by the well-balanced subject; the two areas are usually productive of disparate and discrete impressions. Hysterics especially have a penchant for this exotic combination and are likely to remark its awesome impact.

Card VIII. Lower colored D with blue strands attaching to rest of blot. Anxious neurotics have often commented upon the connecting link between the blue middle D and the pink-and-orange bottom D. This has, in the experience of this writer, a tendency to be overlooked or only casually mentioned by the average subject. With the anxious type, the bottom is usually conceived of as a heavy object, sometimes a guillotine blade, sometimes only a massive piece of metal, suspended by a cable. They comment upon the strain and tautness which they observe in the blue strands and usually express a fear that it will break and the knife or object fall. They seem to project themselves into this situation with considerable and often visible empathy. One such patient claimed it was unbearable to him, and after a long period of gazing at the card with an expression of fear and horror, begged the writer to take it from him since he was incapable of putting it down by himself.

Card IX. Upper central light portion. This region lends itself for concept formation especially to those personalities in which there is a large element of mysticism and a predilection for speculating regarding the supernatural. The average testee shows little interest in this area; when he does use it he is apt to concentrate on its outlines, yielding a

response like "the body of a violin." Patients with strong paranoid trends and ideas of influence make considerable use of the stimuli provided from this place. They also use the sharply differentiated D region at the base of this central area as "eyes looking at me" in the same manner as the lateral projection already dealt with in Card IV, bottom D.

Card X. Reverse position, middle blue dd. A frequently recorded response to this small blot-area is "an extracted tooth." In the experience of the writer such a response is given almost invariably by chronic masturbators and those patients with serious conflicts over masturbation.

Card X. Reverse position, middle blue D. Average subjects give various concepts for the area under discussion. These are, on the whole, more or less innocuous. Anxiety neurotics, on the other hand, and strangely enough patients with a background of severe religious training and those whose early lives show suffering from parental tyranny often achieve a response something like "two blue figures, men, climbing up the sides of cliffs." They usually describe the situation as a precarious one with these figures toiling upwards, in danger of falling, and clinging to the sides only by a sheer effort of will. Sometimes they add that if the figures fall, they will be impaled on "the devil's fork" below (bottom D when blot is reversed). Instances of this response, or a variant of it, abound in the protocols collected from such patients over a number of years. One recovering psychoneurotic, given a second Rorschach examination near the end of the term of treatment, gave, "Now it looks different. Now I see these two figures stopping in the middle of the climb and shaking hands. They know they will make the top and so they are congratulating each other."

The foregoing note has dealt with a handful of Rorschach responses that have appeared time and again in the records of patients who have found to fit into various diagnostic classes. The may be considered rather typical for the personality types described, and have been presented primarily because of their usefulness as clues in situations calling for finesse in differential diagnosis. A further reason for this presentation is the writer's conviction that the "content" aspect of Rorschach work has generally and unjustifiably been underworked.

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COMIC BOOK IDEOLOGY
IN THE
PREVENTATIVE THERAPY OF JUVENILE DELINQUENCY*

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The basic or primary causes of some mental disturbances and in fact other ills, may be fairly well understood, yet there are factors influencing the development and form of such disorders. These require continuous study. Comic books appear to bear this relationship to the problem of juvenile delinquency.

The subject of juvenile delinquency is a timely one since war causes a very material increase in this problem. In Montreal, for instance, cases of this type appearing before the Juvenile Court have increased from 3,000 in 1939 to 4,500 and 4,200 respectively in 1940 and 1941. The obvious explanations given for this increase indicate recognized influences of importance and include: war-emotionalism, loss of school and home discipline in the absence of the father and older children, increased police responsibilities in other directions, broken homes, child labor and disruption of children's group activities. For our purposes, however, it is sufficient to realize that this increase in juvenile delinquency proves that there always exist a number of children who may or may not become delinquent, depending upon their environment. It will become apparent if it is not already recognized, that comic books are of increasing importance as a part of children's environment, that engage their attention and consume their time for good or ill.

Comic books and their effect on children engaged the author's casual attention some years ago but my interest became more acute about a year ago as I listened to the type of radio program so roundly and repeatedly condemned in the press recently. Related to these subjects is the reaction of children to moving pictures of various types and

* Read before the 98th annual meeting of the American Psychiatric Association May 18th, 1942, at Boston, Mass.

some developing advertising technics, directed toward younger people and playing upon the emotions of fear, shame and self aggrandizement. To contemplate this field, including adults, is to envision a very large psychological morass which includes expensive but salacious publications, pulp magazines and books as well as dowdy legitimate theatre productions. However, I deal only with the observations made concerning comic book ideology as presented to and accepted by children from seven to fourteen years of age. The larger field centres about the question of how far commercial enterprise should be allowed to affect people emotionally for private gain and without due regard to possible results. This question becomes more than an academic one if it can be demonstrated that such emotional stimuli play a part, however minor in the production or form of juvenile delinquency.

The method employed in this study was to examine the actual material and its effect upon "normal" children without conscious prejudice but with a psychiatric point of view and technique. During a period of one month all the various comic books available, in two northern States and one province of Canada, were collected and examined, a total of twenty-three excluding those attractive to older children and adults. Twenty-eight different weekly comic strips were examined during the same period. A neighborhood corner bookstore kept a record of sales of all magazines during two months including the sex and approximate age of each customer. The opinions of physicians, school teachers, parents and other adults were obtained informally to have some idea of the lay opinions on the subject. The present methods by which censorship may or may not be exercised were also enquired into. Eighteen school children of both sexes between the ages of seven and fourteen years were then more closely studied in the following manner. Observations were made, unknown to the children, as to which of the assortment of comic books they selected first, held their attention longest or were read most often. The various types of pictures were then discussed with individual children. Finally by a game technique the children in groups classified the books and comic strips into those they preferred and those they did not favor, with their own criticisms.

It was not difficult to get frank and enthusiastic cooperation provided the examiner maintained a neutral attitude throughout. However, towards the end of the study the children evinced an acute curiosity as to why any adult should be so interested in what they obviously considered *their* literature.

A continuous attempt was made to determine the latent as well as the manifest meaning of the picture to the child. When faced with pictures showing unnecessary violence, sex emotionalism, sadistic acts, unnecessary exposure or family discord, the children were puzzled, soberly attentive or in some cases, vaguely embarrassed. The children's inability or reticence to discuss these scenes appeared to be based on their inability to understand them or an actual distaste when understood. The spontaneous interest shown in the better type of comic depicting the lives of historical and contemporary heroes, celebrities, athletes and real facts of nature or educational "quiz" pictures was based upon the child's ability to understand them. The historical accuracy was of minor interest but the realism of what appeared a "possible" adventure was more important. Certain individual characteristics of the child and the child's environment could be seen to influence their choice of comics whenever the individual tested was well known to the examiner. A carefully selected series of these pictures mounted would no doubt be an aid in the clinical examination of children. This would fill a gap between the simple standardized pictures and the Rorschach form cards.

The findings from the above technique tended to organize themselves, in spite of the profusion of material, and may be listed as follows:

I Unfavorable.

A On the examination of the comic books.

1. Poor paper, poor printing and poor reproduction at relatively high prices.
2. Violence is the continuous theme, not only violence to others but in the impossible accomplishments of the heroes, heroines and animals.
3. Incendiarism and fire are frequently portrayed.
4. Physical development is unduly stressed. The perfect man is muscular; the heroine is all glamour and any variation from this "norm" is the subject of suspicion, ridicule or pity.
5. Family discord is a common subject pictured.
6. Attempts are sometimes made to render the comics attractive to all ages.
7. Distorted educational data are common. Some glaring examples may be given as follows:

(a) Literary anachronisms are frequent. For example, cowboys, Indians and pirates mingle in a futuristic world of pseudo-science. Similarly, prehistoric animals are seen in futuristic settings.

(b) Unarmed resistance is commonly successful against armed, ready and numerically superior opposition.

(c) Direct action and amateur initiative is legal and superior to the dumb and incompetent police.

(d) Not only men but women can overcome lions, tigers and boa-constrictors with their bare hands.

(e) Respectable citizens and gangsters mingle socially, knowing each other and using the same slang phrases.

(f) Clothing is decorative but of little practical value.

(g) Foreigners are all criminals.

B. On the examination of the children.

1. If given a single choice of comic books, they will frequently pick the more extreme examples.

2. The child reads all that is offered including items not attractive to children or beyond their conscious understanding such as pornographic picture books for older people.

3. The child pays little or no attention to the quality of the publication nor the artistic value of the pictures.

II Favorable

A On the examination of the comic books.

1. Right usually overcomes wrong and the hero or heroine are on the "Right" side. This is frequently overdone or labored in the poorer examples.

2. The truth is stranger and more interesting than fiction, especially to children.

3. There is educational value in some of the individual features such as the animals, landscapes, architecture and so forth, when well done.

4. Some of the better types of comics are of real educational value in both the emotional and intellectual sense. They are a great stimulus in teaching younger children to read.

B On the examination of the children.

1. As far as could be determined, the normal child rejects much of what is read, that is, the unpleasant and sadistic features tend to be disregarded or read hastily.
2. The child enjoys the better comics more although he or she might pick the most lurid to examine first.
3. The adult features in the pictures are not attractive to the child who naturally identifies himself or herself with a boy or girl and his parents with the parents in pictures. The most popular comics for boys are about boys, similarly with girls, and the most popular to both sexes are the comics that concern families with children or babies.

The usual adult appeals are projections of the artist's adult ideas and are:

- (a) Scantily clad males and females in symbolic action unduly exposed.
- (b) Scantily clad females being man-handled or held in a position of opisthotonos.
- (c) Irony, satire, and sarcasm.

None of these ideas have any conscious appeal to the child .

The general observations listed below do not include indirect material such as the imitation of comic book characters or methods in the children's play or press reports of delinquents following comic book patterns of extreme conduct, or of accidents resulting from violence directly related to such imitation.

1. Children favor comics adapted to their own age, sex and environment.
2. They have a real interest in the family and its simple problems as such.
3. They are interested in the normal activities of adults as well as the mischief and problems of children.
4. They are interested in such simple and fundamental things as sleep, sickness, clothing and food as frequently represented in comic strips.
5. Children have a good perspective as to what children can and cannot do but they enjoy the ludicrous and pantomime (i. e. pictures without words). They prefer tricks, jokes, fun and laughter to violence, intrigue and mystery.

6. Children accept magic as such and supernatural ability in the form of action, gigantism or dwarfism, but they tend to reject other types such as mind-reading, invisibility and x-ray vision.

7. The ten year old child shows the most interest in this type of entertainment judging from the record of sales but children down to seven years also show keen interest and have less money to spend which may account for the sales record.

8. Frequently, the books are read in spite of the parent's mild disapproval or even when forbidden. The books naturally are the subject of occasional childish quarrels but are also a "medium of exchange" among children.

DISCUSSION

In relation to the home and school life, comic books take second place to the radio as a distraction from home-work and the more important out-of-doors play. The children have only a certain amount of time to enjoy the fresh air and sunshine, to eat their meals, have some instruction in the duties of a household and sleep. The radio programmes interfere with meals and sleep particularly, the comic books with the other activities mentioned. Physicians have reported that children's insistence upon listening to the radio has occasionally interfered with the examination of patients in private homes.

As to the specific or latent effect of the more undesirable pictures upon normal young children it is difficult to say. The same may be said of the possible value of the cheerful, wholesome pictures really enjoyed by normal children. Bender and Laurie⁽¹⁾ have argued, on the basis of their findings in abnormal children, that the emotionalism and exaggeration and other features found in some comics allow the abnormal child an innocuous emotional outlet or catharsis. Most psychiatrists will agree. It would seem fallacious however, to consider the modern comic as a satisfactory substitute for mythology and folklore or to recommend these comics without criticism for normal children. The normal emotional outlet for children is in the physical and mental activity associated with play which may later become work in the productive sense

1. BENDER, LAURETTA AND LAURIE, R. S.: The Effect of Comic Books on the Ideology of children. *American Journal of Ortho-Psychiatry*, Vol. 2, 540, July 1941.

Certain psychiatric features are evident on examining comic books. Some of them illustrate family discord frequently and some depend upon this theme entirely. Love scenes may or may not be good but the repeated visualization of women being treated violently by men can do nothing but instill an ambivalent emotional attitude, in the child, toward heterosexual contacts. Symbolism in the Freudian sense is easily seen but is seldom of the humorous variety so prevalent in the animated cartoon moving picture. The effect of such symbolism on the child has not been noticed. Significant reactions to the prominently displayed secondary sexual characteristics have not been seen. Such pictures are not limited to comics and it is probably better not to obviously deny the inquisitive appetite of the adolescent.

It was surprising and interesting to note what might be termed the "physiological appeal" in various pictures of all types. Certain pictures would be selected time and again as a preference. At first no factor could be found to explain this nor were the children able to give the reason. By simple observation of common factors in numbers of these it was found that the item determining preference was a simple thing such as sleep, sickness, personal hygiene, running or food. Food was by far the most popular single preference in all pictures and this appeal was not conscious.

Another feature easily demonstrated is the self-identification of the child or adult with some person or element of the environment in the pictures.

In discussions with lay adults it was evident that their opinions of what a child should or should not read was distinctly a personal opinion nor based upon what we know of child psychology or psychiatric principles.

Can we determine from these data whether the subject has anything to do with the etiology or prevention of juvenile delinquency?

If we grant three of the findings, I think the answer is rather obvious. First, we may agree that a good deal of undesirable material is presented to the child. Secondly, self-identification takes place with some of the characters. Thirdly, the child's own tendencies determine to a large extent its interest and self-identification. Hence the child exposed to familial discord, scenes of violence, insecure environment and so forth, will inevitably be attracted to, and influenced by, the undesirable features mentioned above in the comic books.

CONCLUSIONS

Comic books and comic strips are important from the point of view of the developing child. The attempts that some publishing houses are making to improve these periodicals should be encouraged.

The normal child's natural likes and dislikes when properly studied appear reasonable, whereas subjects suited to the therapy of abnormal states in children are not necessarily good for all.

Since advertising does not appear to be attracted to this media, other sources of profit or subsidy should be sought to lower the price and improve the quality of comic books.

The subject of commercialized entertainment as presented to young children warrants further research from both the commercial and psychiatric point of view.

It would appear that censorship boards will eventually request psychiatric assistance to function on a rational, constructive and tolerant basis.

THE INFLUENCE of REWARD, PUNISHMENT and
INCENTIVE for RECOVERY in the TREATMENT
of the PSYCHONEUROSES

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During the past century a great deal has been written about the mechanisms of the various psychoneuroses with marked emphasis on hysteria. Each investigator who discovered any specific factor attempted to devise a specific therapy. Thus Charcot and his school advocated hypnotism. The Freudians concentrated on psychoanalysis as the most valid method of treatment. In the United States, the psychological school has favored the use of "simple critical common sense" in the handling of these cases. Thus Rennie⁽¹⁾ states: Trained and critical constructive common sense means simply the best utilization of the inherent and human capacity to make sense out of human situations. Psychogenic, neurogenic, organogenic, exogenic and constitutional factors, the course and the development of the disorder, and the factors of potential modifiability are all to be considered. The importance of early life is recognized but we do not make of childhood the exclusive dynamics of a lifetime. Choice of method must be determined by the individual case. Therapy begins with an equal recognition of that which works well as well as that which works poorly. The aim is to utilize the immediately available assets." It is with this attitude that I wish to present some experience we have had with psychoneuroses and hysterical reactions among prison inmates. We have had some good therapeutic results with them but we do not claim that the methods and mechanisms involve apply to every psychoneurotic. We do believe, however, that they are similar in a great many cases, and it is for that reason that this collection of thirty-one cases is presented.

It has long been known⁽²⁾ that when an individual is suddenly confronted by a situation that we call a deep profound emotional response and especially one to which no adequate motor reaction can be given, he may become conscious of the organism in a painful and disconcerting way. Schilder⁽³⁾ has noted: "Hysteria becomes the expression of suffering by disease in its human and social aspects. It stresses the helpless-

(*) In military service.

ness and dependence by the child on the love of its parents. From this angle it becomes understandable that in the actual cause of the hysterical difficulties in men, the social conflict plays a most important part. The individual takes refuge in the symptom when the erotic or social situation becomes too prohibitive. We speak of the hysterical character in individuals who easily develop hysterical attitudes or who retain such symptoms through a longer span of their lives. Every individual prefers under certain circumstances to forget reality. Such simple escape reactions can be found in war neuroses and hysteriform reaction of prisoners. "When we consider the experience of the hysterical character in prison, we recognize that he is in a milieu which is particularly suitable for an exacerbation of his hysterical complaints. He is in a situation where the social and erotic environment is definitely uncomfortable and unsatisfying to his desires. If he is inclined to regard the prison authorities as father surrogates he may attempt to use his organic complaints as an attention getting device and in a more practical sense as a device to get privileges and comforts which are denied to the general population of the prison. Moreover, if his purpose is not accomplished and his complaints are not conscious but unconscious, he may feel that he has been grossly wronged and mistreated and react with violence and marked depression. At the Dannemora State Hospital, we receive patients who become psychotic while serving their terms of sentence in the prisons of New York State. Many of these patients are classified among the prison psychoses, may present marked hysterical symptoms as a substantial element of their psychoses with great importance to their psychopathology. It is our experience with patients of this type and the factors in their recovery that we wish to discuss.

The writer has collected thirty-one cases of psychoneuroses or psychoses with personality whose predominant symptoms were hysterical. These all developed in the patients while they were inmates of the prisons of New York State. They were all transferred to the Dannemora State Hospital. In the discussion of their management I wish to note that most of them were in the dull normal or borderline grouping with respect to intelligence. The patients were still serving their terms of sentence for the crimes which they had committed. They did not compare therefore in some ways with the patients that are found in private institutions who are usually voluntary admissions. Prison inmates frequently regard the hospital authorities and the physicians as part of the Department of Correction and the prison administration. They feel that after all it was the police and the courts which led to their detention

at the state hospital. Moreover, because the patients are all convicted felons, not as much liberty and what one might call opportunities for self expression are present here as in the civil hospitals. Due to these factors, the patients are at times not inclined to have the complete confidence which the psychiatrist desires. Deep psychotherapy of any kind is usually not feasible (disregarding the time it would entail). Nevertheless, of the thirty-one cases which came to our attention, twenty-eight made good recoveries. This was accomplished only by superficial psychotherapy with special emphasis on the influence of reward, punishment and incentive for improvement.

The statutes of the Dannemora State Hospital read that inmates who are serving a term of sentence must have recovered from their mental symptoms before they are returned to prison to complete their terms. Moreover, if a patient's term is indefinite, for example, nine to fifteen years, he is eligible for parole at any time after he has served his minimum term (in this case six years) but is not paroled so long as he is a patient at the hospital. In other words, he must be returned to prison first, but cannot be returned unless he has made a full recovery. Those who have had contacts with prison inmates know that while in prison they aspire to one objective, namely, release and liberty. They think, dream and talk only of the time when they are going to be released. It is true that once they have been released they often stay free for only a short time, but while they are in custody they think solely of ways and means (sometimes legal and sometimes extra-legal) of being set free in the shortest possible time. Patients with psychoneurotic and hysterical symptoms are under the same psychologic motivation. After their admission to this institution, they become readily aware through the explanations of the staff as well as those of their fellow inmates who have achieved some measure of improvement that to gain their freedom they have to be returned to prison first and to be returned to prison they have to be free of the symptoms which caused their transfer to this institution. In eighteen of the cases we have studied, we feel that this knowledge was the prime factor in the loss of the symptoms, and in ten of the remaining cases it was of great importance. It might be claimed that some of the symptomatology had a smattering of malingering, although it is well known that the boundary line between hysteria and malingering is nebulous. As a matter of fact, one of the three cases that has shown no improvement at all in our institution began as a case of so-called compensation neurosis twenty years before his imprisonment. We believe, however, that most of the cases are similar in many respects to the

hysterical and psychoneurotic patients that are seen elsewhere except that the incentive to recovery in these instances is unusually powerful.

I wish to present detailed histories of three of the thirty-one cases to illustrate the operation of these factors.

Case 1. H. T. Male Negro, 41 years old. This patient was admitted on July 18, 1939 with complaints of blindness and paralysis. The patient was born in Missouri in 1898. He began school at the age of six and reached the ninth grade. He has worked as a plumber and a plasterer. He acted as a Negro clergyman for a considerable period of time. He also lived partly on the proceeds of his activities as a confidence man and swindler. He was arrested several times for larceny. The crime for which he had received a sentence at the time of his admission to the hospital was forgery and perjury. He was a patient at the Columbus State Hospital from November 23, 1922 to December 16, 1922 when he escaped. A diagnosis of Dementia Praecox, Paranoid type, was then made. He was also a patient at the Lima State Hospital from November 11, 1923 to November 26, 1924 where a diagnosis of Psychosis with Psychopathic Personality was made. In 1936, he had an accident in a taxicab in which he became unconscious. The case was settled for \$475.00. In July, 1937, he had a subway accident causing what he called a "hernia". That case was still pending at the time of his admission. The patient stated that his legs gave way after he had been beaten up about a year ago. He was sent to Bellevue Hospital where he was diagnosed as Conversion Hysteria. Eight months ago he became worse and he had to lie flat on his back. A spinal tap aggravated his condition. However, for the last six weeks he had been able to sit up. He also complained that he had had a nose bleed, that his forehead was numb and that he had a pain in his left eye. His eyesight then diminished and one morning he could not open his eyelids.

On admission he could not talk or walk and professed to be blind. Later he talked a great deal and expanded profusely about his complaints. On August 1, he admitted that his eyesight was getting better but insisted that he could not walk. He blamed a great deal of his difficulties on the spinal tap. He tried to evoke sympathy and was markedly hypochondriacal. He squinted a great deal when in the company of the physician. He was kept in the hospital ward for almost a month. On September 14, 1939, he was transferred to another ward and no attention was paid to him. He asked for a discharge from the hospital but was told that he would have to walk perfectly first. In

October, he began to walk with a markedly spastic gait. In December, he was walking perfectly and did some work around the ward. He began to work a great deal shortly afterward. In April, 1940, he not only was a very efficient worker but showed good insight into his previous complaints, recognized that they had been imaginary and admitted that there had been no relations between them and the various accidents he had had. This man did not walk for over a year. For several months he kept his eyes closed most of the time. He probably felt that he was going to revenge himself on the police and society by means of his symptoms. However, he also wanted to be free. As in every hysteria, it is difficult to estimate how much of his symptoms were unconscious. Nevertheless they lasted a long time and materially impeded his activity. When the urge to be free became strong enough, he cast off his symptoms and even gained good insight into his previous condition.

Case 2. C. S. 26 years old. The patient was born in Russia in 1909 and came to the United States with his parents in 1914. He was graduated from elementary school and spent six months in high school. Since then, he has worked irregularly, latterly being employed as a plumbers' helper. He was arrested once before for stealing an automobile and placed on probation. The crime for which he was sent to prison consisted of a hold-up. He was given a sentence of fifteen years on December 11, 1931. He managed well in prison for twenty months. Then things began to go wrong. He could not sleep or eat, felt tired in the mornings and had constant pains in his head. He stated that for a period of a few months the only thing that came into his mind was the picture of automobiles and that at that time he felt compelled to drive one or go insane. He complained of dizziness, headaches, and intense pain over his body and extremities. He made repeated demands for a physical examination. He insisted that there was a tumor in his brain. In a fit of rage, he smashed his room and became disturbed and assaultive. He was transferred to the Dannemora State Hospital on April 25, 1935. On admission, he said that he could not sleep, had a ringing in his left ear and a stomach out of order and asked the examiner for a physical examination. A week later, he still complained of headaches and pain in his left ear. He also suffered attacks of dizziness occasionally. He thought his left eye was bad and that his optic nerve was almost gone. He believed that he had a constant fever. On May 11, 1935, he said that he had a pain in the head and

burning in the legs. However, at this time, he stated that he was anxious to get along and eventually be discharged. He asked for work. On June 14, after working for a short time, he quit his job and refused to eat. He had to be tube-fed once. On July 17, he complained of insomnia and pain in the left side of his head and asked for an X-ray. He also claimed that he had a cold in the chest and was coughing up blood. He stated, "I can't stand the torture any more." He showed no improvement during the next month when he again complained of ringing in his ears and pain in the head, which he attributed to a spinal puncture about a year before. He also described deafness in the left ear. In September, he complained of tiredness and weakness and a ringing in his ears when he clicked his jaws. He suggested that he had sinus trouble. He was transferred to a moderately deteriorated ward on October 19, 1935. He apparently did not like this for he immediately began to work and on November 14, 1935 stated that he no longer had any pains except for an occasional headache. In consequence, he was transferred to a ward for improved patients on November 22. Here he soon showed complete recovery and also gained complete insight. He was under observation at the hospital and prison until October 28, 1941 but there have been no recurrences. He was released from prison on the latter date. In this case, it is the impression of the writer that the symptoms were much deeper than in the first case and the patient probably tried to solve his inner problems by means of his symptoms. When these symptoms apparently aggravated his situation, he was able to control them sufficiently to make a good adjustment which he has maintained for a considerable period. We used no intensive psychotherapy on him but treated his complaints rather as a child's temper tantrum and in his case our treatment was successful.

We have another type of patient who reacts to his prison environment with a hysterical type of prison psychosis but recovers very shortly after his transfer to the state hospital. In these cases, the incentive for discharge, return to prison and freedom are of great importance but we also feel that the mere change of environment was equally significant in affecting the outcome. The following is an example of this type:

Case 3. J. W., Negro Male, 31 years old. The patient's mother had had a nervous breakdown. The patient was reared by his grandmother. He began school at the age of 12 and left at the age of 16 in the fourth grade. He came to New York City after leaving school and worked

at odd jobs. From 1932 to 1941 he was in conflict with the law most of the time. He never married but lived with several paramours. He contracted syphilis in 1932. In the same year, he had a nervous breakdown for about two months but snapped out of it. He complained then about throbbing in the back. He began to complain in prison that he could not sleep because the gas ran up and down his legs and into his head when he lay down. He appeared depressed. He had no appetite. Numerous physical examinations were negative. He was transferred to the Dannemora State Hospital on February 6, 1941. On admission, he stated that he was sick as his back hurt him very much. He thought that the gas from his stomach penetrated his body and he could feel something beat in his back. He at times had a creeping sensation in his body. One week later, he stated that his complaints were getting less noticeable. On month later, they were all gone and he admitted that they had been imaginary. He was discharged on April 19, 1941. In this case, as in the others I mentioned, the incentive of freedom from a cell to an open ward was also believed to have calmed the patient considerably and contributed to his recovery.

The influence of incentive, reward and punishment in the psychoneuroses has long been established. In industrial compensation and other traumatic cases, it is well known that the size or possibility of financial remuneration has acted in producing or prolonging not only cases of malingering but also genuine hysteria. In our cases, we have reversed the process and by using the goal of freedom have aided a number of patients in their efforts to rid themselves of their symptoms. Of course we cannot incarcerate every psychoneurotic or hysterical patient and tell him that he either gets well or else. . . although that would probably relieve a great number of them. However, if we are going to treat each patient as an individual and use every means at our disposal to get an improvement, it would be well for us to consider the questions: What conscious gain does the patient have from his symptoms? What unconscious gains does the patient derive from them? How can the environment be controlled or changed so that no benefits will result from these symptoms and rather a great advantage will accrue from their disappearance? The answer to these questions will be an addition to our armamentarium in our attack on the psychopathology of the neurotic. I recently saw an army selectee who complained of pain in the knee for which no organic etiology could be found. He lay in the post hospital for several weeks without improvement. If he had any unconscious desire to be given a medical

discharge from the army, he realized during that period of time that such would not be the case. However, he persisted in his complaints. Finally after some placebo "nerve stretching" he rejoined his outfit. I do not believe, nevertheless, that a placebo would have been effective if it were not clear to this patient that he could not be discharged, but rather that his complaints would merely confine him to bed indefinitely, at the hospital. Of course, he may have another attack, but no therapy can insure permanent recovery. The judicious use of incentive and reward was one of the factors used in the treatment of this patient. We feel that the measure in conjunction with other measures should be given consideration in all our psychoneurotics and used wherever it is suitable.

Summary

1. 31 cases of psychoneurotic-mainly hysterical—reactions in prison inmates are presented. Twenty-eight of these have apparently made a good recovery.
2. The factor of these patients' getting a chance for freedom if they recovered was of primary importance.
3. The proper use of incentive for recovery, reward and punishment may help a great many psychoneurotics.

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PSYCHOPATHOLOGIC ASPECTS OF MURDER

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While general medicine has made rapid strides, its contributions to social problems has been relatively small. Taking criminology as an instance, what has general medicine to offer in terms of prevention and cure of crime? So far as one can see—nothing. It is true that through the particular branch called Toxicology it can offer a great deal of help and do much in the apprehension and prosecution of criminals, but that does not contribute much to the understanding of crime.

However, if medicine as such has not contributed much to social sciences, its large branch, psychiatry, dealing with mental functions and psychic motives, has contributed something quite definite, for in the long run psychic motivations back of individuals' behavior are in a large measure also operative in social relations. And yet, psychiatry, as it concerns criminology, has made much less progress in this field than it did with other social problems. Pinel, as we know, about one hundred and fifty years ago, freed the insane from their shackles and forced mankind to look upon the insane not as criminals, but as unfortunate individuals. About one hundred years ago the well known McNaghton case focused sharply our attention on the relation of crime to insanity and brought forth forcibly the lesson that no man can be considered responsible for a crime if it is shown the man is primarily insane and that, in committing the said crime he was moved by motives not wholly in the realm of conscious reasoning. Yet, to this date, many judges, district attorneys and lawyers, while granting that premise, still feel that while a few criminals may actually be insane and not responsible for crime, most criminals are sane, since in terms of medical law, they know right from wrong. At the turn of the century the late Dr. William A. White, who may be regarded as the father of Criminal Psychopathology in America, began the advocacy of the concept that there are many criminals who, while not insane in terms of the accepted cardinal classifications, prove on more careful analysis to be insane in the sense that they were guided by motives beyond conscious content. His contributions are too numerous to mention in such a brief study, but they all tend to enlarge our

conception of criminality, insanity, and criminal responsibility.⁽¹⁾ In 1914 Healy, originally of Chicago and now of Boston, published his well known study, "The Individual Delinquent",⁽²⁾ in which he tried to emphasize the patient rather than the social factors that have to do with crime. In 1922, Karpman began to publish his material dealing with the psychogenesis of crime, and was the first one to have cured criminals by purely psychotherapeutic means. Aside from the many individual studies on the subject and many reports of cases so treated, his two works, "Case Studies in the Psychopathology of Crime", and "The Individual Criminal", were published and are classics in the field.⁽³⁾

In 1931 Alexander and Staub published their work, "The Criminal, The Judge, and the Public".⁽⁴⁾ A few years later Alexander and Healy published "The Roots of Crime" which was based on a study of half a dozen criminals by analytic means.⁽⁵⁾

However, when one sums up the total of our understanding of basic psychopathologic motives behind crime, it must be admitted that for all the effort put forth by White, Healy, Alexander, Karpman, and others, the gain has been relatively small. While these workers in the field have been insisting on a more dynamic conception of criminal motives, the majority of psychiatrists and certainly the lawyers and judges still cling to the out-dated conception that every criminal is moved by conscious intent and willful consideration. Above all, persistent efforts must be

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made to broaden the work of forensic psychiatry in some such way as Briggs helped the enactment of laws that require psychiatric examination of many criminals that are not obviously mentally ill.

It is because of all this that the writer felt it worth while to present four cases of murder. These cases are not presented for the purpose of demonstrating the psychopathologic motives behind the crime, but, solely, to show what problems medicine, psychiatry, and law still have to face with respect to understanding criminal behavior.

Let it be understood that my acquaintance with these four murderers was limited to a cursory examination after the subjects has been indicted for first degree murder. Understandably, these investigations were too inadequate to permit full analysis. The contact was made with the offender during the period of incarceration preceding trial, was limited in time, and was generally made in prison surroundings; therefore, the data presented here are necessarily merely a scratch on the surface of criminal psychopathology; a step in the right direction.

These four subjects are typical of thousands of murderers who offer a silent but eloquent plea for psychiatric treatment and understanding. They are presented here in the same form as they appeared to the writer upon limited examination.

Case Number 1

Let us begin with the history of a fifteen year old boy indicted for first degree murder. The writer was requested to give a psychiatric examination in the office of the District Attorney.

When the boy was presented he looked like a bewildered student, not a first degree murderer facing a death penalty. There was no evidence of criminal stigmata and apparently no abnormal nervousness or peculiarity, although he restlessly shifted his legs and gazed at the floor, with obvious bewilderment at his fate. Hornrimmed glasses indicated a condition of astigmatism; his other facial features were well formed and normal. His medium sized stature gave no hint of physical abnormalities. When questioned, the boy denied any dizzy attacks or convulsions. He showed no retardation, and was carefully questioned regarding hallucinations of a visual, auditory, olfactory and somatic nature. None was uncovered. There was no discernable depression or increased pressure of speech. He denied ideas of reference or any para-

noid trends. He was fully oriented and his memory for recent and remote events seemed unimpaired. His judgment was in accordance with his age and educational training and he showed normal insight. When the interview was interrupted by an outsider, the boy showed unusual shrewdness by winking at the examiner in a silent question as to the advisability of continuing with his narrative.

During the interview the prisoner answered questions coherently and was well aware that he had been indicted for first degree murder. He indicated that he knew the penalty was death by electrocution and expressed a willingness to "take my medicine", but seemed to be harboring the vague impression that the prosecution might not impose the extreme penalty on a fifteen year old boy.

Family History: The prisoner seemed to have no knowledge of his paternal grandparents but stated that the maternal grandfather is 70 and the maternal grandmother is 65, both healthy. Nine years before the indictment, defendant's father died from pneumonia, after numerous attacks of heart trouble. The boy shows a normal attachment to his mother, who is 40 at the time of the questioning. He volunteered the information that the mother worked extremely long hours in order to support him. Previously she was a saleslady in a dress shop but recently lost that position and is out of work at the time of the investigation. He informed the questioner that it was his mother's practice to leave her work every evening in order to prepare supper for the boy and then to return to her employment. Prisoner has two married sisters, aged eighteen and nineteen. The eighteen year old sister is married to a taxi-driver and they rent a four-room apartment for sixty dollars a month. The boy and his mother live with them and occupy one of these rooms. Ordinarily the boy sleeps in a separate bed next to his mother but occasionally it is necessary for him to sleep with her when his bed is rented out to a boarder. He shows a normal fondness for his mother and reports that on several occasions when they have quarreled and she has attempted to beat him, he held her hands to prevent the beating but never struck her.

The only other mention of the mother was prisoner's recollection of receiving \$135.00 for religious confirmation. This money was given to the mother for safe keeping and some months later the boy examined the bankbook and discovered a balance of \$4.00. He learned that she had spent the money on her household budget and this precipitated a quarrel.

Questioning revealed a normal infancy and childhood. He has a scar over his right eye and several scars on his cranium due to falls. The only other notable factor in his development occurred four months prior to the arrest. He had a nasal hemorrhage that lasted twenty hours and required hospitalization. His educational history is usual; at the age of six he started grade school and graduated three months prior to the arrest, at which time he entered high school. He missed promotion on two occasions due to disobedience but he usually knew his lessons, although he did not study. He admitted a deficiency in mathematics.

Subject denied the use of drugs but admitted having participated in alcoholic drinking parties with his friends.

Sexual History: Sometime before his thirteenth birthday he paid \$3.00 to a girl somewhat his senior and had his first sexual experience. Since that time, he masturbated four or five times a week, always fantasizing girls of his acquaintance. His second sexual experience was with another girl and his third experience was arranged for the Monday after the commission of the crime. He agreed to pay \$5.00 to a girl with whom he had previously discussed sex. The girl was reluctant but finally agreed upon the promise of \$5.00. The boy planned to obtain the money from the robbery committed on the night of the murder.

Criminal History: The boy read gangster stories and expressed the frequent thought of becoming a gangster. During his childhood he had the habit of stealing pennies from newstands and, on one occasion, stole a bicycle. About two years before the murder he joined two other boys in a series of about fifteen burglaries. Occasionally a third boy joined them. Their procedure was to burglarize stores by cutting the glass out of skylights and then letting themselves down with ropes; if this was impossible they entered through rear or side entrances. The spoils were equally divided among the burglars. Prisoner spent his money on movies, taxi-cabs and restaurant meals, although he was always at home for the evening meal which his mother left her employment to prepare for him.

About ten days before the crime, one of his criminal cohorts stole a .25 caliber revolver from an automobile, purchased suitable bullets, and then gave the gun to the prisoner. A week before the crime the two boys practiced shooting at a target from a roof.

The night preceding the murder the prisoner attended a party with several other boys and girls. At the party the prisoner drank a glass of wine and feigned drunkenness. One of the girls at the party was his particular interest and he told the examiner that it had been his intention to reform if that girl had accepted him as a regular boy friend. However, the next day the girl cut off all association with him as a result of his feigned drunkenness at the party. Prisoner was deeply disappointed and determined that he would go to any lengths to secure \$5.00 with which to have a sexual relationship with another girl.

On the evening of the crime, defendant joined the chief accomplice in his burglary career and accompanied him on an errand prior to the appointed time for the burglary. Prisoner recalled that he was impatient and that he was urged on by his companion who reminded him of the need for money. At 10:30 P. M. the boys approached the shop that had been chosen for the holdup but found that the streets were too brightly lighted so they wandered into the next deserted street and waited outside a tailor shop until the tailor's wife had left. The holdup was planned but the prisoner reasons that he was too young, had on short trousers, and was likely to be too nervous. However, the prisoner finally entered the tailor shop with the gun in his hand and said "Stick-'em-up" to the tailor who held up his hands and said "See, I have nothing." Then the tailor started to walk toward the boy, causing him to slowly back up until his spine touched the counter behind him. The contact bewildered him and he had no recollection of pulling the trigger. When the shot was fired, the boys ran from the shop and the prisoner shouted, "Look what I did; I have ruined my life; I have murdered a man." However, it is interesting to note that for several days after the crime he was bragging to several friends by exhibiting clippings of the crime and stating that he was the murderer. Four days after the crime was committed, prisoner was arrested by the police when he came home for his evening dinner.

This murderer is the only one of the four cited here who presents a purely sociological problem. There is no evidence of any mental deficiency or psychosis. Dementia praecox can be excluded since there are no mental symptoms, hallucinations, or delusions and there are no signs of regression in his emotional, volitional, or intellectual fields. The effects of the glass of wine he drank the night before the crime are insignificant; he was not drunk. An epileptic equivalent can be disregarded; he never suffered from dazed states, convulsions, or petit-mal attacks.

Constitutional psychopathy can also be disregarded; the boy was only fifteen years old and still in the process of mental development.

This case presents a study in the causes and cures of sociological crime. The cure lies in prevention, not punishment. This boy's crime was the fault of society . . . the result of inadequate supervision and improper associations. The mother was driven to supply economic needs to the neglect of the social and moral guidance needed by the boy. While she worked, he roamed the streets and found company and excitement in criminal groups developed in the same manner. If properly guided, such a criminal could still be made into a useful citizen. Although endowed with criminalistic ideas, they had not gelatinized at his age and, if adequately supervised, this boy could pursue some honest, gainful occupation.

A copy of the examiner's report was sent to the presiding judge in this case and, after a conference between judge and psychiatrist, the boy was sent to a reform school and the plea for electrocution was dropped.

It may be significant to note that the preceding case is the only one of the four included here showing no evidence of mental abnormality.

Case Number 2

In the following case the writer did not have the opportunity to complete diagnosis and is only able to present the data that were obtained during a short examination in a prison cell where the subject was being held for the murder of his child and the attempted murder of his wife. Obviously, from the nature of the crime, it is apparent that mental and emotional undertones play a psychiatric role in the crime.

The prisoner was one of 8 brothers and sisters born to a Roman Catholic family in Bavaria. He offered no information about his childhood other than the fact that he had 5 brothers and 2 sisters and that he knew nothing about his father's life. He attended school in Bavaria for 10 years and then went immediately to work on a Bavarian farm where he stayed for 5 years. The next 2 years in Bavaria he worked at a lumber camp and then, at the age of 23, he emigrated to the United States. During his 11 years in this country he had been steadily employed: first as a waiter, busboy and dishwasher, and later going into partnership with his older brother in a delicatessen business. Little is known of his usage of spare time other than the fact that he did some carpentry work on the side and frequently spent his weekends vacationing in a neighboring town of smaller size.

Seven years before the commission of the crime the prisoner married a girl whom he had been courting for a year and a half. This examiner is of the opinion that the wife was the aggressor and that the love was one-sided; one child had been born of this marriage.

The subject denied ever having any unusual sickness or dizzy spells and showed no evidence of venereal disease. Upon physical examination the writer discovered a habit that he believes throws light on the complex underlying the crime; the prisoner had removed all of his toenails and stated that he had been doing this since he was nineteen years old; he explained that he feared ingrown nails but there was no evidence to indicate such a likelihood.

In the opinion of the writer this peculiarity is a manifestation of a castration complex that formed a basis for the murder of the child and the striking of the wife. In my experience with state hospital patients, many of those suffering from castration complexes have gouged out their eyes or similarly violated themselves. This crime was a similar act. The child is a well known genital symbol and the murder of the child symbolized the unconscious castration complex (somasochism). If the sex life of this man could be probed, definite psychogenetic facts could be ascertained that would throw light on the crime. I am convinced that there was a strong sadistic component and masochism in the psychosexual life of the accused. The relationship between sadism and a few of the epileptic equivalents is unquestionable but I believe that this man was a schizophrenic who passed through a state of catomotic excitement during which time he attempted to escape from his undesired marriage by striking his wife and further attempted to release his castration ideas through the destruction of his child.

Another examiner testified that this prisoner exemplified a case of epilepsy (confusional insanity) but that since the commission of the crime the prisoner had improved and might not have another attack for many years. Whichever diagnosis one chooses to accept, it is unquestionable that the murderer was suffering from a psychotic ailment that stands in the realm of criminal psychiatry.

Case Number 3

The third murderer to be considered was a thirty-five year old male born in an Armenian town of 40,000. The interviewer was especially handicapped because the prisoner had language difficulty and all contact was made through an interpreter. Through this medium, the

writer was able to ascertain that the prisoner seemed to be over-productive, with a normal emotional reaction and that he was completely cognizant of the fact that he was indicted for first degree murder. He consistently claimed that he was suffering from amnesia at the time of the crime, although he admitted a previous jealousy of the man whom he shot.

The family history is significant because it reveals that a maternal uncle died of some nervous disorder and that one cousin died of epilepsy at the age of fourteen or fifteen. The father died at the age of fifty from chronic alcoholism. The mother and three sisters (aged 38, 32 and 30) are said to have died in Armenia as a result of a Turkish massacre.

The only childhood ailment mentioned by the prisoner was an attack of pneumonia at the age of five. He attended school in Armenia for about a year and a half; it is impossible to determine the exact amount of his schooling but it is believed that his education was between the ages of eight and ten years, after which time he was a common laborer in Armenia. He first came to America in 1911 at the age of twenty-one and took up the occupation of painting silks. In 1917 he was accepted as a volunteer in the French Army and his whereabouts are indefinite to determine until his return to the United States in 1920, at the age of 30. After his return and until the murder (four or five years) he was steadily employed in the silk painting industry, with the exception of a three-month period of unemployment.

The murder took place in a silk painting place where the prisoner worked. He was infatuated with a young Jewish girl who worked in the same establishment. The girl occasionally left the shop with a Mr. C. who was also employed there. The prisoner states that the day before the crime was committed he had some dispute with Mr. C. over an accident in the shop which left him in an excited condition. The prisoner recalls that he left the shop in this restless state and immediately purchased two bottles of highly intoxicating Armenian liquor, to which he had been addicted for many years. He commenced to drink and consumed the two quarts of liquor, spent a restless night, and the next morning he entered the shop, shot the girl for whom he had an infatuation, and then shot Mr. C. (with whom the girl had been associating and with whom prisoner had argued the preceding day); then he shot himself. The girl died instantly but the prisoner and Mr. C. made uneventful hospital recoveries. The prisoner was detained as a prisoner in Bellevue Hospital.

Under questioning the prisoner stated that the gun used had been in his possession for more than two years; he claimed that it was given to him by a Greek friend in payment of a monetary debt.

The prisoner recalls that he frequently contemplated leaving his place of employment due to his jealousy of Mr C. and further admits that he was infatuated with the girl, but claims a complete amnesia concerning the shooting. During his incarceration he cried about the murder of the girl and frequently had visual thoughts of the murder, his mother, and his sisters.

A superficial examination revealed no definite neurological signs. His reflexes were somewhat irregular and active; his pupils somewhat sluggish to light. There was no Romberg and no tremor. A complete serological examination was suggested.

It may be of psychiatric importance to note that the prisoner had his first heterosexual experience at the age of thirteen. When he was eighteen he contracted gonorrhea. Two years prior to the commission of the crime, he contracted a chancre, was treated for syphilis for about six months, had about six salvarsans intravenously and twenty-four mercurial injections.

Further information shows that about twenty-one months prior to the murder this patient received an injury to his head consisting of a multiple fracture of the right side of the internal portion of the skull. He is reported to have been unconscious for about three days at this time and was hospitalized for approximately four and one-half weeks. There has been no apparent change in his personality since the injury, but he claims that since that time it has been necessary for him to drink larger quantities to cause intoxication.

The prisoner appeared to be a mental defective and may have had a hallucinatory episode colored by his chronic, long-standing alcoholism. The charge of first degree murder was withdrawn and he was convicted of manslaughter and sentenced to Sing Sing for twenty years; thus passed another mentally diseased murderer into the annals of criminal history.

Case Number 4

Our final case, involving a 46 year old murderer, offers more complete data than the foregoing studies. The writer had the opportunity of interviewing this patient five times and obtained considerably more information than in the former cases. The following is an abbreviated record of the psychiatric sessions:

Family History: The father died in the Ukraine from an unknown cause at about the age of 80. The mother died at 75. The prisoner had two brothers and two sisters. The eldest brother was a world war veteran who had been hospitalized for a mental disease in Austria where he died. A cousin is an inmate in a New York state hospital. There seems to be no other history of nervous or mental disorder in the family.

Personal History: The prisoner is a Ukrainian by birth. He had very little formal education but can read Ukrainian, Polish and English. For three years prior to his twenty-first birthday he worked on a farm in his native land and then emigrated to Canada where he worked on a farm for another year. Then he came to the United States and went to work in a factory; later he obtained a position as a guard on a subway.

Sexual History: The prisoner stated that he was sexually abstinent prior to his marriage at the age of 27. He accounted for this as a manifestation of his fear of venereal disease but it was more likely due to religious ascetism. After a year of whirlwind courtship he married an 18 year old girl. He recalls that his wife's family emphasized the importance of his watching and caring for his wife; he interpreted this to mean that his wife had shown signs of moral laxity. During the analysis he stated that he married his wife "so that she would not go with other men."

During the first two years of marriage he had intercourse at least twice nightly and five or six times over the weekends. He explains that he believed his wife to be a nymphomaniac and increased his sexual activity to the point of injuring his health in order to satisfy her and to curtail her promiscuous sexual conduct (delusional).

During marriage he was in the habit of practicing coitus-interruptus in order to prevent conception. In the course of the interview he describes an occasion when his wife informed him that she was pregnant immediately after sexual intercourse. She advised him that she intended to have a criminal abortion. He objected but believes that his wife obtained the money for the operation by prostituting herself; he believes that her customers were obtained through the help of one of his co-workers who he is convinced was cohabiting with his wife. When he asked her where the money came from she told him that she borrowed it from a woman friend; he questioned the woman friend and was told that his wife had been lent \$2.00. From that figure he came to the conclusion that his wife had prostituted herself for the funds.

History of the Crime: Patient owed his wife some alimony payment that had accrued during their legal separation. When he came to make payment a neighbor woman was called in to witness the transaction. The prisoner and his wife had an altercation and the prisoner fired at his wife; the neighbor ran to the fire escape and was shot and killed by the prisoner.

It was found that the prisoner was dressed in a black suit with a black tie and white gloves. In his pocket was a money order made out to a funeral parlor to pay his funeral expenses. When questioned the prisoner stated that the primary reason for his visit was to urge his wife to return to him. He claims that she had promised to do so several times but each time changed her mind. He asserted that he still loved her, although he felt that she was a bad woman. He believed that he wanted her back because he cared for her and because he felt it would be more desirable for the children. He stated that it was his intention to ask her to live with him again and that if she refused he planned to shoot himself in her presence and save the children the long trip to Reno. In regard to the actual happenings he stated that he turned the gun on himself and was then struck on the head and that he remembers no more.

Even after five sessions, prisoner still insisted that he was suffering from amnesia at the time of the crime. The first thing he remembers after being struck on the head, he was in different surroundings. He has a hazy recollection of being in a police station but that is not clear. He swears violently, by the oath of God, that he is telling the truth. (Prisoner is deeply religious).

Almost the entire time the patient was with the examiner, he dwelt on his delusions regarding his wife's infidelity. It is apparent that he has harbored these delusions for nearly twenty years and that the details are firmly implanted in his mind.

The patient's first recollection of his suspicions goes back to the period prior to his marriage when his fiance mentioned a woman acquaintance who was pregnant but was not married. He asked her why she associated with such a woman but did not feel that he received a satisfactory answer. He questioned his wife's virginity on the basis of her association with this woman of questionable character. That incident marked the beginning of his suspicions and he questioned her about any previous misconduct, assuring her that he would forgive her anything that she might confess. The girl insisted that she was a virgin.

Shortly before their marriage he took his fiance to visit Mr. L. who was an old friend of his from his native country. From that time on the

prisoner developed a series of elaborate delusions concerning an illicit relationship between his wife and his friend. At the first meeting the wife and friend conversed extensively and he went into another room for ten or fifteen minutes. When he returned they were still engaged in conversation and when he suggested moving to another room, they disregarded him. He believed that his wife-to-be was obtaining advice on how she could conceal her lack of virginity.

During the first night of marriage, prisoner was convinced that his wife was not a virgin because she did not bleed and because she remained motionless during coitus. He felt himself qualified to judge this as a result of sexual discussions with his friends, although he was celibate before his marriage. The day after his marriage he returned home for lunch and found his wife away. When he returned in the evening he asserts that his wife was lying in one bed and Mr. L. was lying in another bed.

He further claims that several days after his marriage he returned home to find three men with his wife. When he knocked on the door he heard the men talking and surmised that they advised his wife to recline on the empty bed, where he found her when he came in.

On the third night following his marriage, after an act of sexual intercourse, he asked his wife why she was not a virgin, saying that he noted that she did not bleed and did not consider penetration painful. She told him that she could not tell him that night but would tell him the next night. He assumed that she was going to get advice as to what to tell him. The next night she told him that when she was thirteen years old and employed as a servant, her employer has sexual relations with her for a period of five months. This corroborated prisoner's suspicions that his wife was wanton and was having relations with his friends.

The prisoner insists that his wife was having an affair with his friend, Mr. L., for some time after their marriage. He cites numerous occasions and evidence to bear him out (delusional). Shortly after the marriage he noted certain bumps on her head and a marking on her cheek and he connected this with a previous discussion with Mr. L. when L. had described having relations with a woman who had similar markings. He interpreted the frequent conversations and easy friendship between his wife and L. as a sign of previous association, although they led him to believe they were strangers when he introduced them.

He tells of an occasion when his wife and friend were in another room of their home. He saw them hugging and kissing through a mirror that they could not see. On other occasions, he noticed his wife

kissing his friend, and she often patted his friend's cheek, which was one of her ways of making love. He tells of a christening which the three of them attended. While there, his friend petted his wife and other attendants called his attention to it but he paid no heed.

On another occasion the prisoner and his friend were taking a walk. The friend excused himself and left the prisoner alone. When the prisoner returned home, the friend was in the bathroom and he was told that the friend had stopped in to use the bathroom.

Another time the prisoner worked out an elaborate means of spying on his wife. He stationed himself across the street, with a witness, and watched one of his friends enter the house. After waiting a reasonable length of time he entered the house, expecting to find his wife and friend in a compromising situation but when he found them innocently engaged he concluded that his wife had seen him spying across the street and had set the stage for his return. Shortly after this episode he lost his position and blamed it on the influence exerted by the suspected friend.

He relates further that Mr. L. borrowed his house key on a day that some furniture was to be delivered; he presumed that L. wanted to have relations with his wife and took the key to make certain that the prisoner would be unable to interrupt them.

One week-end he planned to test his wife by pretending that he was leaving town for several days. Instead he returned home and found his wife out; friends said that she had just left, but at 11:30 p. m. the wife and L. returned. L. left immediately and prisoner explained this departure by the assumption that L. and his wife had spent the earlier part of the evening cohabiting.

The prisoner did not confine his suspicions to L. During the sessions he discussed his wife's infidelity with numerous men. When asked if he ever actually found his wife in an act of infidelity, he describes one morning when he returned home and found the janitor in her room. He believes that the janitor and his wife had intercourse on the bed because the baby had been moved from the bed to a crib. He reasons that the child was moved so that his wife and the janitor could use the bed. He was further convinced by the fact that the janitor's shirt tail was out of his trousers. He is certain that the janitor kept their apartment warm in return for his wife's sexual favors. He went into the basement on one occasion and found his wife standing next to the janitor. He believes that they had just completed an act of intercourse while standing together. His explanation for not exhibiting resentment of his suspicions is that the janitor had superior power and strength.

At one point during the interview, prisoner told of an evening when he was drugged by his wife before retiring; during the night his wife kept her hands under the bed. When he asked her what she was doing, she told him she was petting the dog. Toward morning he heard her tell a man under the bed "it is getting to be morning and he will soon wake up". Then his wife held him down in the bed while the man left. When he asked her about it, she said it must have been a robber.

Another recitation of his delusions concerns a fellow employee of his. The prisoner and his co-worker worked different shifts and the prisoner believes that the contrasting working hours enabled the other fellow to cohabit with the prisoner's wife while the prisoner was working. This fellow worker was the god father of one of the prisoner's children. On one occasion the man told the prisoner a story wherein a certain godfather was poisoned by a godmother and shortly after his wife told him about a woman who poisoned her husband; the prisoner believed that they were attempting to poison him. He believes that his wife doped him with wine as late as three months before the crime. He also believes that she tried to etherize him on one occasion when he was requested to smell her handkerchief to smell the perfume but he recognized the ether smell from a time when he had been etherized during an operation.

He insists that his wife tried to dope his coffee, feed him with lye, poison his whisky, and drug his wine. He elaborates on specific occasions when he noticed evidence to bear him out. At one time the prisoner's wife told him that she had been taught witchcraft in her childhood and the prisoner is under the impression that his wife has the power to bewitch people.

It is his contention that this bewitching power, together with his wife's attempts to poison him, were responsible for his admission to the Bellevue Psychopathic ward ten years prior to the commission of the crime. He states that the drugs deranged his mind, impaired his physical condition and general health.

In the five sessions he made three references to one specific occasion when a tailor friend gave him a bottle of wine and told him to get his wife's permission to drink it. The wife advised him not to drink it right away but to save it for another time and they would drink it together, but when he later asked her to drink with him, she refused, and he believes that the wine was poisoned by her in the meantime.

He then gave a haphazard account of how the tailor remarried his wife, after bewitching her.

The prisoner gave detailed reports of several other occasions illustrating his wife's infidelity with mutual acquaintances. He believes that many of his friends did not know she was his wife when they cohabited with her, but he is sure that she had indulged freely in sexual relations with them. He explains that he frequently found his wife's soiled underwear and questioned her when he found spots of seminal fluid. She explained that they were due to a discharge common to women (leucorrhea), but he doubted this explanation.

During the first session the prisoner reported that his wife was unfaithful with about 150 men during their marriage; during the second session he mentions that there were about 15 or 16 men; and at the third session he gave the interviewer a list of 31 names of men whom he believed had been intimate with his wife. During the fourth session he stated that she had men morning, noon and night (sometimes as many as 12 a day) and that every time he came home he found men. He asserted that his wife obtained free meat and groceries in return for her physical favors and describes an occasion when he watched her kissing an old man who was too old for cohabiting but had to be repaid by his wife.

When questioned as to whether the children were his own, since his wife was so promiscuous, he reported that he had "a feeling" that they were. The question brought on another rambling, detailed account of her infidelities. He related one occasion when his daughter advised him that his wife was unfaithful and that the house was overrun with men in the bathroom and bedroom. He also says that his wife told him the daughter had lost her virginity.

He is so prolific in his delusions, which are colored by hallucinations, of vision, hearing, and smell that it would take months to get the details of all his wife's extra-marital affairs. The prisoner admitted that he could talk for weeks about his wife's misconduct and her attempts to murder him.

His delusional behavior is not confined merely to his wife's sex life. He described his conduct prior to his admission to Bellevue by stating that it was necessary for him to keep the devil away by making crosses and sprinkling the devil with holy water. He also hoped to keep away his wife's men friends by this method. During his Bellevue hospitalization he was accused of having broken the piano. He denies this but states that it was necessary for him to board up the cupboard door because his wife tried to injure him with it on three occasions.

Another example of his delusional fantasies concerns a woman ghost who entered his bedroom and turned into an angel while he was looking. He interpreted this as an omen that he was to live and not to die (as a result of his wife's attempts on his life). The vision vanished out of the window as soon as he recognized her significance.

While at Bellevue ten years ago he had a vision of three chairs placed in a row and heard a command from Jesus to sit in the middle chair. The other chairs were for St. Peter and St. Paul. He knows that the orders came in his head because he felt a fierce turning of his brains but he cannot describe the exact spot.

He deviated into another delusion that was brought on when he asked a friend to recommend a physician. The friend told him to test his strength by hitting a table three times with his hand. When he did this he brought blood to his knuckles each time and this indicated that the friend had bewitched him as the blood represented three relations.

At the time of the interview he suspected that other prisoners were constantly listening in on him. He also stated that he had given the keepers money for certain favors that had never been performed.

During the five sessions the prisoner went into considerably more detailed explanations of his wife's infidelity and other delusional ideas. His accounts were rambling and disconnected but there is no doubt that he was delusional and not malingering. In describing these delusional formations he did not show much emotional reaction; when relating his wife's infidelities, he smiled and seemed to enjoy telling about it. His emotional reaction is not common to a paranoic, but is more like a schizophrenic.

The jailer reported that when the prisoner was first incarcerated he acted as if he were in a stupor; during the incarceration he spent most of his time reading the bible. The jailer states that he believes the man is insane. The prisoner expressed a fear of being put in "the bughouse" (insane asylum) and stated that he wished either to be freed or to be electrocuted. Ultimately he was sent to a state mental hospital for the criminal insane.

In summarizing this case, there are four salient factors to be noted:

1. The question of an hereditary taint, as disclosed by the hospitalization of his brother and a maternal cousin (for mental causes). This is significant in connection with the work of Nouvilas⁽⁶⁾ who, in the study of 2,600 cases of schizophrenia found heredity as a causative factor.

⁽⁶⁾ London, Louis S., "Obsessional Neurosis and Schizophrenia", *British Journal of Medical Psychology*, Vol. XI, Part III, 1931.

He also found that the transmission occurred from the mother to the son or daughter, and never in father and child. He concludes that the direct inheritance of schizophrenia is unquestionable and that the transmission occurs through the maternal stream.

2. The probability that prisoner has harbored delusional ideas of infidelity for nearly twenty years.

3. That he probably has a deep rooted sexual conflict which is associated with his religious ideas and ascetism.

4. The possibility that he is impotent, as he has not had an sexual life for four years and overindulged during the early years of his marriage.

This prisoner has undoubtedly had hallucinatory periods based on ideas of reference, misinterpretations and misidentifications and his delusions are numerous and varied. He does not show the emotional reaction of a paranoic but is definitely a case of schizophrenia of at least twenty years duration. He was recommended for committment to a criminal hospital for the insane.

The nature of the material presented here and the very nature of the subject makes it impossible to draw any formal conclusions. The purpose has been merely to present facts regarding a subject of vast importance and little research. It might be well, however, to comment on the similarity found in the four cases: each prisoner claimed to have been in a state of amnesia at the time of the commission of the murder. It is debatable whether this similarity is of any special significance or merely coincidence.

These four examples are not rare, isolated criminals; their histories are repeated every day in the criminal courts of America. Their study should be given attention every day in the psychiatric chambers of analysts. It is time to make strides in this virgin field; time to place criminal psychopathology in its proper spot in the limelight.

Criminal control and care in the world is not wholly the responsibility of the Courts of law and penal institutions. The work of the criminal lawyer, district attorney or judge and the work of the psychiatrist who studies abnormal human behavior is inextricably intertwined. Rehabilitation is more essential than conviction; to effect the cure, it is necessary to determine the cause. There is a cause behind every case on the Court calendar and that cause is the vital challenge to criminal psychiatry.

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Special Article

WAR, CRIME AND THE COVENANT

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PART III. CRIME IN PRIMITIVE SOCIETY*

3. Sacrilege

C. IN GROUP SORCERY

The view that sin precedes crime might be supported by Biblical authority. First we have a transgression of a ritual kind, the forbidden fruit, and then Abel murdered by Cain. I have shown that the myth of the Garden of Eden⁽¹⁾ means the Oedipus complex, the revolt of the son (Adam) against the father (Jahve) and intercourse with the mother (Eve). In a sense it means coitus in general, maturation, the sin of guilt of separation from the mother. It means the same thing also in a more direct sense: the fruit (infant) is plucked from the tree (mother) and the first human beings are expelled from the Garden of Eden.

After this we have the narrative of the first murder based on sibling rivalry; the elder brother kills the younger who has become father's favorite.

Besides sacrilege and incest (which is in a sense also a sacrilege) the third great sin or crime of primitive society is *in-group sorcery*.⁽²⁾ Sorcerers in the other group who are responsible for all evil, that is the normal and accepted thing, but sorcerers in the "sympathy group" (Williams), that is something quite different.

The following case of Yirramba Kurka or Little Honey Ant shows an instance of an Aranda who is not accusing others of a different tribe of having "pointed the bone," but members of his own tribe.

I had only just arrived at Hermannsburg when I heard about a native they had got in the camp who gave them plenty of trouble. He went by the English name of George Rose but his real name was Yir-

(1) Cf. Róheim, "The Garden of Eden," *Psychoanalytic Review*, 1940.

(2) According to Meinhof this is the only crime that is regarded as such by the whole community. Meinhof, *Afrikanische Rechtsgebräuche*. 1914, 73.

ramba Kurka (little honey ant). He was one of the "Government" natives, i.e., one of those who had been removed from the Alice Springs area as the Government did not wish to have any natives there while the railway was being built. This meant that he got his rations from the Mission and was expected to do something for those rations, such as chopping wood or helping to build a house and so on. Now Mr. Heinrich, then in charge of the Mission, did not know what to do with him. The man did not refuse to work but said that he was ill and would sleep all day long. What was the matter with him? He had been "boned." As neither *nankara* man, nor the medical art of the white man, nor simple ridicule and persuasion were of any avail, Mr. Heinrich⁽¹⁾ thought "let psychoanalysis have a chance." So he told the young man (about thirty) that a new kind of white doctor had arrived who would be able to help him in his trouble. This was the only time during my absence of two and a half years that the "informant" was a patient, i.e., that he came to talk to me not for the sake of the food he would get but because he expected to be relieved of a complaint.

Although a pure-blooded Aranda George Rose has spent all his life as a "working-boy" and all his associates go by English names. He speaks a curious pidgin English of his own so that no interpreter is needed. But he still believes in the same magic as his brethern in the bush.

First day:

He had been "boned" by a man called Bob Welch. Bob Welch asked him for some money and he refused. Bob saw that he had money and he wanted the two pounds to get new clothes. Therefore he took "that bone" and caught his blood in it. After this he dreamt of Bob Welch and Harry. The next night he saw Bob Welch, Harry, Little Pumpy and a fourth man. Then he saw a *katni*-lizard. As Harry's mother is a *katni* so he told Harry that he was the culprit. But Harry denied it.

There is considerable confusion and self-contradiction in his narrative as to who has really "boned" him, Harry or Bob. Finally he declares that they both did it. Harry told him that he had thrown the bone into the water. But this was a lie because if it had been true he should have dreamt that he (i.e., George Rose) was drowned. Now he openly accuses Harry of being a liar. Not only that he did not dream of being

(1) School teacher of the mission.

drowned but he actually dreamt of a drought! thus obtaining absolutely convincing proof that Harry meant no good.

Having got so far he begins to develop his *system-formation*. Harry boned him, two men of Harry's country had died and Harry attributed their deaths to George and a friend of his. But this was all wrong. Two men came from another country, a third place, and they kept muttering "We kill him, we kill him," till they killed the two men. He had been at Hermannsburg for a short time. One day he felt he just had to go into the bush, he could give no explanation for it, he just could not stay in the camp. When he was a little boy he used to roam about like that in the bush with his father. Harry is his "brother-in-law" but he is really an older man and was a good friend of his father. Bob is his *aknia* ("father"). Then a girl who is his *amba* ("niece") and a woman, the wife of an Afghan, his classificatory "mother" visited Harry every day for a fortnight and asked him to throw the bone into the water but he would not do it, for he (George) never dreamt of being drowned

Here we have the first case of an Aranda who is definitely maladjusted. He is expected to work and what he wants to do is to get out of this obligation and to get the benefits without the work. But we should not forget that his environment is not Aranda society but the world of the white man.

According to the tribal morals of his original *milieu* he could not have refused to give the money to Bob Welch. But his narcissism backed up by the different attitude of the white man prevents him from making this sacrifice. Now he is afraid of Bob Welch's revenge and believes that the latter has pointed a bone at him. By doing so an invisible bone has entered his body and his life blood is now in the bone receptacle of the boner. From this one man the thing radiates to a number of others, especially Harry. Everybody is "boning" somebody else but the arch fiends are his father's special friend and a man whom he calls "father." And the rescuers? A young girl and his "mother" (classificatory). Then he feels an unaccountable desire to run away and this reminds him of the time when he used to roam about in the bush with his real father.

Second day:

He is beginning to consider the other two "boners" of his dream. Tossy Jack and Pumpy are both Pangata. He is a Panunga and his wife a Pangata, that is, they belong to the same class as his wife. This is, of

course, wrong for he being a Panunga, his wife must be a Purula and not a Pangata. But the two men are Pangata, and this explains his confused talk. *The unconscious tendency is to identify his two persecutors with his wife..*

Then he tells me: "Bob also 'boned' his own wife, my 'mother.' There was another man called Sandy who used to 'bone' people. He boned his own wife and also a woman called Topsy. This Topsy felt just like I do now and died a short time after that." Then he describes the process of "boning."

The "bone" (i.e., magical weapon) is called *ulta* (stick) or *indjalla* (kangaroo bone). The man takes it, sharpens it and holds it with the string pointing to the other man and then he

arunkulta
evil magic

aljimma
sings.

Then something goes in from the stick to the flesh of the victim. There it remains till it grows a bit bigger, about the size of a finger. Then it catches the man's blood and pulls it back into the bone. The man now secures this life blood by putting a bit of wax to the end of the bone. There are always two friends who perform the boning. The one in whose keeping the bone is has control over the victim. For if he begins to feel a bit 'wild' he throws the bone to the ground. Then the other man begins to feel a bit shaky but it is nothing special. He is all right till about two months later when his persecutor begins to put the bone into the fire. Now he feels hot. The other man draws the bone out of the fire, then he feels cold again. It goes on like this, he keeps feeling hot and cold. Then he feels well again for some time. But when the other man puts the bone completely into the fire the victim sees his enemy is his dream and that is his last night. .

Then he tells me what happened to his brother. He saw another man's track near the track of his wife. Therefore his friends (i.e., the brother's friends) boned that man. Now Harry and Bob were friends with that man. They thought that he and his brother had done the boning and therefore they boned first his brother and him. Boning is always on account of women or in retaliation for a previous boning. This is always going on like that — somebody is always "boning" somebody else. Now I give a *verbatim* quotation: "This Harry fine fellow, got nice half-caste wife, fine house, good tucker but I no like that boning." The way he expressed his appreciation of Harry excepting for the boning sounded rather amusing.

Once he came to Harry's house when Harry was not at home. He wanted tucker (food) but he found the bone in a bag. Harry is a good fellow but he is always boning. "He 'two faced.' Once he go white fellow, once he go black fellow." Why doesn't he go altogether white? He dreamt that rain was falling on him from a cloud and he covered himself with his blanket. The outlines of the whole thing are now clearly visible. For one thing he makes the mistake of classing his two persecutors wiht his wife. Then we see that the "boners" are really his "fathers" and that they are doing the same thing to him as they do to his "mother," their wife. One of the women who was "boned" by his persecutor felt exactly as he does. The description of how the bone goes into his "flesh" and there grows to the size of a finger might very well be given by a woman describing the sensation of coitus. He has a regular system formation about everybody boning everybody else and about women at the back of the whole thing. But the bone has a double significance. Penetrating into the victim's flesh it symbolizes the penis of the persecutor, but in so far as it contains the victim's life-blood (seminal symbol) it is also the victim's penis. This explains the way out of the difficulty; the representative of the father is to restore the penis to where it belongs, i.e., to a representative of the mother-imago (water).

The ambivalency with regard to Harry, his chief persecutor, is expressed by him when he calls the latter "two faced." He begins to stress the white element in Harry; that means that I am beginning to replace Harry in the unconscious. Harry is admirable in every respect but this admiration is tinged with anxiety. From Harry he goes on to talk about the rain (semen) that pours down on him in his dream.

Third day:

He is feeling much better. He dreamt that he went to hunt with his cousin, a man called Yirramba kurka (like himself). They went up a very high steep rock, his cousin walking behind him and holding him from behind. The other man kept holding him back, he could not move and shouted. They went hunting kangaroo or trying to spear some cattle but could not find anything. He dug a yam out with a stick and ate it. Then he woke up chewing some tobacco and spat it out.

His cousin is a very quiet man and has nothing to do with women. He is too young. When a boy has no *gin* (native woman) he sometimes steals another man's *gin* in the bush or she might perhaps steal him. If a man sees an *unjiamba* hakea flower in his dream, that means that an

unjiamba man is boning him. The fact that he eats a yam reminds him of something that happened the evening before his dream. Old Wapiti and Intjirilaka, both yam men, said that somebody was talking against him and his brother. But he told them to stop that sort of thing, he does not want to fight. That may be the meaning of the yam in his dream.

He feels much better now and would like to go about in the bush hunting kangaroos with his grandfather. That is what he used to do when he was a young boy, he always followed his grandfather who was kind to him and used to give him things just like a father.

He has told me all about the boning and he really will not speak any more.

This dream shows one important element in the psychology of boning. The dreamer eats the yam, that is, there is an unconscious tendency to eat the person who is boning him. He has projected his own aggressivity to the persecutor whom he so admires. Who is this person? In the dream he goes with his cousin whose identity in name hints at his function as a double of the dreamer. The ascent of the cliff (penis) and the cousin holding him from behind both indicate a homosexual phantasy which conjecture is confirmed by his remark that the cousin does not care for women. But the cousin is merely a substitute for somebody else. He used to walk about like that with his beloved grandfather who treated him like a father. He is quite well now and this indicates what he needs if his condition is to improve. Sublimated homosexual relations are the adequate outlet for his unconscious homosexual phantasies. Resistance against talking about the pointing bone any more is due to the conflict he undergoes in preventing the homosexual phantasies from becoming conscious. He dreamt of Jim Porris and then he saw some tracks. They were the tracks of a parentie (lizard). Jim's mother is a parentie and this means that Jim has been boning him. No, it cannot be Jim's mother, for boning is only done by men.

Then he saw some tracks of people who were trying to catch the lizard. One of them was little Jack's wife Roozie, his sister-in-law, sister of his wife, Nanzie. The huts of these women are beside each other. Roozie caught the lizard and ate it and he ate some of it also. There was another man in the dream trying to catch this lizard. He does not know anybody like these two men, but while saying this he looks straight at my boots.

He has dreamt of Jim Porris before this. He was lying upside down in his dream, that is, on his back with his head downwards. The people told him that Jim must have boned him. This Jim was a great boner but he never had any trouble with him. He helped Jim when he had a disease of the penis (gonorrhea?). Jim used to run after every woman. He also used to run after Topsy's sister, also called Topsy. Both these Topsies were boned by Sandy. Next time he dreams he will tell me whether it was Harry or Sandy or Jim who boned him.

Then he talks about his wife. She is "all right." But he intends to "chuck her" as she is lazy and does not obey. Sometimes she is "wild," i.e., refuses coitus. He does not care for her; it was she who ran after him. The same thing happened with his first wife whom he also "chucked." She was running after men. He does not care about her, he will go away, leave her here, and never see her again. He would like to see his son who, however, is not his son at all but his wife's son with a white man.

Then he talks about a booted and a barefooted black-fellow in the dream and he remembers further details of the dream: he sees some natives with camels camping at Oodnadatta. One of these is his *kamuna*, (classificatory uncle) a man who had reared him since he was a child. He was just like his father.

In the dream Song Paddy gives him some food. He goes to another hut and there they refuse to give him food. Then he remembers a scene of his childhood. He was a small boy when he went out into the bush alone. There he saw a corpse. It was an Ilpirra.

After this he brings another dream episode.

He followed up the track of a porcupine and killed it. Then he tried to eat it but fire broke out of the porcupine's breast.

The *inarlinga* (porcupine) is the wife of a man who is now dead at Oodnadatta. The man's widow is a pretty young woman, now in the camp; her wurley is quite close to his hut. Jim Porris used to keep his own wife "hot," that is, sick, by putting the bone into the fire whenever he went away so that she would not go about with other men. This is just like the fiery porcupine in the dream.

If we try to summarize all these dream fragments and associations we shall find that the *dramatis personae* fall under two main heads — *animals that are killed* and *people who try to kill them*.

The lizard is Jim, who "boned" him, that is the first category is his disease, the second whatever is in him that works for a cure. The curative agencies are: his wife, that is, normal sexuality; his uncle as repre-

senting the infantile epoch of sublimated homosexuality; the man with the boot on, which shows that he is forming a transference.

Jim Porris and the other "boners" who persecute him are usually doing the same to their wives or other women. He is preoccupied with the sex relations of his persecutors, with Jim's penis. In the dream he sees himself in the female position in coitus and this means that Jim has "boned" him. As for the burning porcupine we can see that the symbol is over-determined. It means Jim's wife in her "burning" or "boned" state but it also means the dreamer, the person who is "boned" by Jim. Moreover in this connection to be "boned" is to be in a state of sexual dependence like the woman who cannot go after another man in the absence of her husband. But according to his own interpretation the porcupine also means a man and thus leads to the infantile cover memory of the *dead man*. Perhaps "eating" also means two things in this connection: destroying the persecutor (yam in the dream) and "eating" in the sexual sense.⁽¹⁾ The fire coming from the breast points to infantile material.

Fourth day:

Shows strong signs of transference and hangs about the place all day. He wants me to write a letter to his son and keeps saying that he will be quite all right when he sees his son. Then he returns again to the topic of the Jlipirra, a big dead man on a high tree. The next association is God (the God of the white man) who appeared to him in his dream riding on a rain-cloud with the rain pouring down in torrents.

When he was quite small he used to dream about flying. Another recurring dream of his was that of a snake with two heads and two mouths. From this dream he always awoke with great anxiety. The double-headed snake points to something in the history of his neurosis which we can only suspect but cannot prove. He comments on it after the flying dream and then goes on to a narrative of "wild" bush women whom they saw but did not touch. The "two heads" must be an alarming sight with erotic significance.

Fifth day:

He dreamt that he was in Oodnadatta in Harry's house. "I come back. I get no tucker there," he tells Harry. Harry answers, "Good job you came," and is very friendly. Harry must have the bone. Bob

⁽¹⁾ "Eating" is an Aranda euphemism for coitus.

was also a great friend of his before he was boned by him. He does not know exactly whether he has two or three bones in his body. He would like to see his father. But at any rate some of them come from Bob and some from Harry. He does not care about women; he can get on two years quite well without them. They are no good; he never has erotic dreams. When he was a child he never played with the girls, only with the boys. The double-headed snake flew up into the air.

The result of this day is that in his mental make-up friendship and boning go closely together. He cannot bear too much friendliness; anxiety always sets in. That is, there is a strong tendency for the sublimated homosexual trends to regress to their original prototype and this is replaced by anxiety. His avoidance of women is again connected with a reference to a double-headed snake.

Sixth day:

He has nothing more to say. Yes, there is just one thing — that he killed a copperhead snake yesterday. The snake was very strong but he was stronger. He was only lying to Heinrich so that he should not be compelled to work. He feels much better now, neither hot nor cold. He will tell Harry to finish it and then it will be finished.

Epilogue:

He does not come for some days. Then he brings me an *injalla* (pointing bone), shows me how to use it and offers me the bone in exchange for a little tobacco. He is quite well now and is going out bush hunting instead of sleeping all day. There can be no doubt about the diagnosis of this case. It is evidently a case like paranoia. We have projection, a tendency toward system formation and homosexuality although not in a conscious, open form. The first thing we have to go by in the life of our patient is a *cover memory*, the vision of a dead man. The dead man is linked up with the animals killed in his dreams and these are interpreted by himself as his persecutors. He ends his short analysis by the statement that he wants to see Harry and his father. Besides the "boners" mostly belong to the group of "fathers" and are doing to him what they did to their wives. We can thus conjecture that the little boy had a very strong desire for the mother (the porcupine's breast in the dream, third day) and a corresponding amount of aggression against the father. In repressing the Oedipus attitude the Super-Ego has availed itself to a great measure of the inverted Oedipus complex as a neces-

sary confederate. The first step would be, "I love the mother and want to kill the father." Second formula, "I love the father, not the mother." (Cf. his appreciation of males and apparent lack of interest in females.) Third formula, "The father loves me and not the mother." This is where he comes to grief in real life for any friendliness shown to him by the men is interpreted erotically. But he cannot become a manifest, passive homosexual because of his castration anxiety. The passive role is castration, death. "It is not true that the father (father substitute) likes me; what he wants to do is to thrust his bone (penis) into my body and castrate (kill) me." Therefore all the people whom he admires, whom he accepts as fathers, are trying to "bone" him.

All this is perfectly evident. But that six meetings should "cure" a "paranoia" would be remarkable to say the least of it. His difficulty lies in maintaining friendly relations with the rest of society. He comes to the Mission or rather is forcibly removed to the Mission by the Government and there he finds much worse food than he is used to and few friends. He is not likely to make any because he immediately regresses to the attitude of being "boned" and sleeping all day and all night. What happens in the cure is that somebody takes an interest in him, he has the opportunity to form a transference and to abreact his anxieties. That something like a remission does take place cannot be denied. It is shown by the symptomatic action with which he "gives" me the pointing bone, i.e., his disease and by the fact that he actually takes matters into his own hands. First he goes "bush" and then he leaves the Mission altogether and gets work at Alice Springs.

The difference between a paranoia in Europe and a paranoid phantasy in Central Australia is that our Aranda patient can evolve his system without necessarily breaking with reality. For the pointing bone is a very real thing in this environment, it is a social reality. Probably he is reassured for the time being but some other time he will again dream of a man and then believe that he is being "boned" by that man. The social atmosphere is full of paranoid mechanisms and therefore the difference between himself and his fellows is not so great. Perhaps he would not even be a paranoid character if he were living not in semi-civilized but in a purely native society. He would then complain to the others that people were boning him, a *tmenka* (blood feud) would be started and some member of another tribe would be killed. This would lead to a remission in his state by gratifying the fundamental

wish⁽¹⁾ (killing the father) and thus he would escape disease at the price of many deaths in other tribes (and consequently also in his own). The role of the pointing bone is similar to the influencing machine described by Tausk.⁽²⁾ Whatever the persecutor does with the bone induces a corresponding state in the patient. But while the influencing machine is more of the nature of a duplicate body, what we have here is the symbol of the penis. In penetrating into the victim it represents the father's penis but in the act of withdrawal of the life it is the penis of the victim taken away by the father. If it is handed over to the keeping of a mother representative (water) the disease must cease since the libido has been restored from the father to the mother.

Identification has become difficult here because of homosexual trends and therefore his aggression and the retaliation anxiety are too much for him to handle.

The *in-group sorcerer* is not the normal state of things in an Australian society. In other primitive or semi-primitive societies, however, it is much more frequent and the hunting and detecting of the witch or sorcerer (criminal) is the duty of the medicine man.

Evans Pritchard has published a detailed study of witchcraft among the Azande.⁽³⁾ Witchcraft is a material object, something that is found in the inside of the witch.⁽⁴⁾ The material object, however, is really a symbol of the aggression in the person which he projects to his fellows. Even minor troubles are regarded as due to the envy of others. Any normal success in life arouses this envy, such as sexual success, good crops, or success in hunting. Although witchcraft is a substance yet at the same time it is also the will to injure others "because the heart of the witch is bitter against him."⁽⁵⁾

According to De Calonne Beaufaict the material substance of witchcraft is an enlarged gall-bladder. Major Lasken writes, "If a person is a witch there is to be found in the belly a round hairy ball which may have teeth and which is very dreadful to look at." Major Brock writes that witchcraft is described by the Azande as being "like a mouth with

(1) Cf. Feigenbaum, *Paranoia and Magic*, 1939.

(2) V. Tausk, Über die Entstehung des "Beeinflussungsapparates" in der Schizophrenie. *Leitschrift für ärztliche Psychoanalyse* V. 1.

(3) E. E. Evans Pritchard, *Witchcraft, Oracles and Magic among the Azande* (1937).

(4) Cf. H. Baumann, "Likundu, Die Sektion der Zauberkraft," *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* LX (1928), 73-85.

(5) Foreword by C. G. Seligman, p. xvii.

large teeth.”⁽¹⁾ Azande science evidently like Galenus connects the gall with hostility. They often speak of *aboro kikpa* (men of the gall-bladder) and though this is an organic trait analogous to witchcraft the “men of the gall-bladder” are not the witches. “Spiteful and resentful and ill-tempered persons come into this category. They brood over things and are loath to make up a quarrel, being little ready to forgive those who have offended them. For instance, when you join a gathering and those present salute you one man may just look at you and say nothing and you attribute his rudeness to his gall-bladder and seek in your mind the occasion of the grudge he bears you. Some people say that minor injuries may be caused by the gall-bladder man, such as knocking your toe against a stump of wood, or treading on a thorn or incurring unpopularity at court. If a man shows spite against you and you suffer serious misfortune then it is gall-bladder.”⁽²⁾ A sick man usually assumes that his male neighbours have bewitched him and a woman asks the oracle about another woman.

In detecting the criminal or witch the usual African method is for the person accused to drink a concoction of some kind. Among the Azande, however, the poison is administered to fowls and this is the only reason why they keep fowls.⁽³⁾ This is evidently, however, a modification of the original custom. Originally, as among other African tribes, it was the accused who drank the oracle poison. Although the phrase “You drink oracle poison” simply means, “You must submit your case to the oracle poison,” it is clear evidence of a period when the accused himself had to drink the poison. As far as actual evidence goes, people only drank the poison in very serious cases. A man accused of a serious offence might offer to drink poison after an oracular test with fowls had gone against him. Likewise if a woman accused a man of having committed adultery with her he could demand that both he and the woman should drink poison.⁽⁴⁾

Evans Pritchard and Seligman⁽⁵⁾ have recognized that blood is the prototype of this poisonous fluid. The blood consumed by the blood-brother “hears like *benge*” (name of the poison oracle or fluid. “Once you have performed the ceremony and your stomach contains your

(1) Evans-Pritchard, *op. cit.*, 23.

(2) Evans-Pritchard, *op. cit.*, 29.

(3) Evans-Pritchard, *op. cit.*, 31.

(4) Evans-Pritchard, *op. cit.*, 309.

(5) Evans Pritchard, *Africa* VI, 1933. 369-401. Seligman in Foreword to Evans-Pritchard, *Witchcraft*, XXII.

blood-brother's blood the sanctions of the pact work automatically without your partner having to set them in motion. "The blood knows exactly what is required of the blood brother because it has heard the address made to it when it was swallowed." "The blood hears like *benge*" and that is the highest compliment the Zande can pay to its attention and foresight. Suppose you have relations with your blood-brother's wife, the blood will act of itself to destroy you."⁽¹⁾

J. G. Frazer has collected the data on the poison ordeal in Africa.⁽²⁾ The Zande idea of administering the poison to fowls instead of human beings is evidently a recent innovation. The powder made from the bark of the *Erythrophleum guineense* is of a reddish color and hence we can see how the fluid came to be regarded as a substitute for blood. The lethal properties of the fluid once discovered, the unconscious would identify this fluid with the destructive activity of the super-ego in the personality. By vomiting it the accused denies or rejects the "badness" within, which ultimately seeks an outlet in killing others. In the ordeal situation the superego is introjected; the possibility of extroversion or projection is cut off. The fluid, on the other hand, the original symbol of the super-ego, of the covenant and of the mother, detects the criminal — it is the person who rejects the bond. In some areas we have the original substance instead of the poison ordeal. Among the Masai if a man is accused of having done a wrong he drinks blood given him by the accuser and says, "If I have done this deed may god kill me."⁽³⁾ According to the Suk blood from a goat's neck mixed with milk will cause the death of the liar who drinks it. Similarly water drunk from a stolen article will cause the death of a thief.⁽⁴⁾ The Akikuyu mix the urine of the two parties and both drink it. The guilty one will die within a month.⁽⁵⁾ The development of the mystic potion from a simple blood covenant can be traced very well in Dahomey.⁽⁶⁾ The potion is originally the blood of the dead person — if guilty the accused will naturally vomit. Among the Mossi if a man or woman died they washed the hands of the corpse and compelled the

(1) Evans-Pritchard, *Africa*, VI, 1933 369-401.

(2) J. G. Frazer, *Folk-Lore in the Old Testament* (1919), III, 307-405.

(3) A. C. Hollis, *The Masai* (1905), 345.

(4) Mervyn H. Beech, *The Suk* (1911), 28.

(5) W. Scoresby Routledge and K. Routledge, *With a Prehistoric People* (1910), 213.

(6) P. Hasoume, *Le Pacte de Sang au Dahomey* (1937), Chapitre V — 'Le Breuvage Mystique'.

suspected sorcerer to drink the potion, protesting his innocence and imprecating death on his head if he lied. If he were guilty the corpse-tinctured water was supposed to kill him; if innocent it did him no harm.⁽¹⁾

The ritual as performed among the Thonga, a Bantu tribe near Delagoa bay, is of special interest. For one thing the potion or ordeal is used not only for detecting witchcraft but for detecting any kind of crime. Furthermore they have the custom of a universal ordeal, a kind of testing or purging the entire populace. The ordeal is called "drinking the *mondjo*." The *mondjo* is a plant of the *Solaneae* family which possesses intoxicating properties and is cultivated by the medicine men of a certain district. It seems that the *mondjo* dries up the saliva of all who drink it but in the case of the truly guilty this effect is greatly accentuated; the jaw become locked. They try to speak but they can only stammer. But the point is that according to the natives themselves the important thing is not the poison but the ingredients of corpses mixed into the potion — for instance the fat of a leper or a little of his powdered bones.

Now the magic potion has revealed the criminal character of a number of people, they must be made to admit their evil deeds. The counsellors interrogate them. To restore the power of speech a particular tisane prepared from the herb called *thjeke* is poured into the mouth, they are shampooed on the cheeks and all over the body with its leaves; the saliva returns. They gradually revive and then begin to speak: "Yes, I devour men! I ate so and so and I would like to kill him but I haven't done so yet. I bewitched the maize to hinder its growth." They are told, "Cease your witchcrafts and enchantments. Remove your spells from the cereals, let them grow properly or we will kill you!"

The intoxication of the *baloyi* comes from the elements of human flesh contained in the solution. The sorcerer who swallows them in drinking the philtre happens to do during the day that which he is accustomed to do during the night; hence the loss of his senses.⁽²⁾

What the native informant is saying here is "to make the punishment fit the crime," or rather not the punishment but the method of detecting the punishment. In the ordeal the criminal repeats his crime

(1) Frazer, *op. cit.*, II, 319, quoting L. Tauxier, *Le Noir de Soudan* (1912), 580.

(2) H. A. Junod, *The Life of a South African Tribe* (1912-1913), I, 416, II, 460. 483-87. Frazer, *Folk-Lore in the Old Testament*, III, 372-75.

and the crime is also the same thing as the sacred bond of oral communion, the bond of blood-brotherhood, of the "*contrat social*."

This oral symbolism is evidence for the theory that "society" is a repetition of the earliest "society" of the dual-unity of mother and child. Milk symbolized by blood is the bond and oral aggression is the prototype of crime. If the sorcerer has eaten no human flesh (eating human flesh is synonymous with witchcraft) the stomach will reject the poison; it is only a combination of the two that is fatal to the sorcerer.⁽¹⁾

The cannibal is the infant who bites the nipple and that is why crime has to be punished in all societies. The problem is not whether punishment is good for the criminal but whether it is necessary from the point of view of the rest of society. By punishing aggression we deny it or repress it in ourselves and this is why primitive societies are really far more bent on punishing the unseen aggression (sorcery) than the deed that really happened, i.e., murder. If somebody dies because he has been knocked on the head the causative agent is undeniable but if somebody just dies any member of the group may have done it. They are therefore all intent on finding somebody to pin it on, a scapegoat for their own unconscious hostility. Actually, fear of witchcraft in a primitive society acts as a "civilizing" force, that is, one foregoes aggressions because one does not wish to provoke counter-aggressions.

An Azande householder who kills an animal sends presents of meat to old men who occupy neighboring homesteads. The reason is that if an old witch receives no meat he will prevent the hunter from killing any more beasts. A man will be careful not to anger his wives because if one of them is a witch he may bring misfortune on his head by a fit of bad temper. Since they do not know who are and who are not witches they assume that all their neighbours may be witches and are therefore careful not to offend any of them without good cause. The notion works in two ways. A jealous man will be suspected of witchcraft by those of whom he is jealous and will seek to avoid suspicion by curbing his jealousy. In the second place those of whom he is jealous may be witches and may seek to injure him in return for his enmity so that he may curb his jealousy from fear of being bewitched.⁽²⁾

(1) D. Kidd, *The Essential Kafir* (1904), 186. Cf. for the oral ordeal. Th. Reik, *Der unbekannte Mörder*. 1932, 106-112.

(2) E. E. Evans-Pritchard, *Witchcraft, Oracles and Magic among the Azande* (1937), 117.

As far as we can see from our anthropological data the "civil" and "criminal" law have two quite different starting points. In the case of "civil" offences the starting point is given in inevitable reality situations. People will quarrel about food or women or their dogs or anything else. The fact that "hitting back" develops into some form of punishment carried out by the group or a part of the group is another story. It means that one man identifies himself with the other, feels hurt when the other is hurt; it means the existence of the "sympathy group."⁽¹⁾ Sympathy (i.e., co-feeling) as an emotion of course first develops in the mother-child relationship and it is through a series of displacements of this situation that social life becomes possible. In retaliation for the so-called "civil offences" we usually have one sub-group against the other.

On the other hand criminal law situations in which the whole tribe punishes the offender start from the psyche and tend towards reality. Sacrilege, incest, and evil magic — these are the three heinous offences. Nobody will dispute the fact that burning bees'-wax or failure to inform the medicine man about an abortion does not really hurt anybody. With incest, at least in the Primal Horde, there is more of a mixed situation. But with incest as it actually occurs now in a primitive society (with the classificatory system of relationship) the symbolic character of the deed is evident. And tracking the person who is the originator of evil magic means punishing oneself for one's own unconscious aggressions. Gradually criminal law is extended to real offences (affronts). Tracing this process however is beyond the scope of this book. The main thing we are interested in at present is that criminal law is a means of maintaining and reinforcing *repression* that is doing something against the temptation to imitate or give way to the return of the repressed.

D. REPRESSION

What is repression? Repression is the mechanism which sets the borderline between the Conscious and the Unconscious and the primary repression (*Urverdrängung*) is the process by which the concept-representations of the impulse are prevented from becoming conscious.⁽²⁾

(1) Cf. Williams, "Group Sentiment and Primitive Justice", *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 43 (1941), 524.

(2) S. Freud, "Die Verdrängung," *Gesammelte Schriften*, V, 468.

We are not aware of our Oedipus desires because of this primary repression. Certain other concepts get connected through a chain of associations with the primary ones and therefore the repression has to be repeated. This is what we call secondary repression or repression proper. That is, we may repress the desire to build a house or make money because this would be success and success means killing father. The Central Australian may repress the desire to eat too much of his totem animal for the same reason. This secondary repression is broken through by the return of the repressed in the criminal deed and thereupon society sets in with its own set of repressions or criminal law.

But why do we have to have a repression in the first instance? An answer might be attempted from studying the mental state in which repression is absent or at least reduced to a minimum. This is the state of schizophrenia — of split-mindedness. It is characterized among other things by a duality of purpose, by a continuous self-contradiction. Thus one patient tells me that whenever she starts flying into a rage against something or somebody and making up wild stories, another voice in her inside keeps saying, Now don't do that, there is no sense in it, or words to that effect. In this case the contact with reality is not lost and the other voice is not regarded as if it were a real person. But in other cases the patient actually believes that his father, mother, brother, or someone is in his inside and is eating up the food that gets in or making it vanish. Now this is actually the process of the formation of the psyche. We introject something, the imago of the father, and forbid ourselves to do the things which go against the will of the now introjected parent. Freud first introduced the concept of the super-ego in his paper on narcissism.⁽¹⁾ Originally the child loves himself but later he relinquishes this narcissistic phase and loves an idealized representative of his person, the Ego-Ideal. The ego-ideal is really due to a fusion of this idealized Self with the critical voice of the parents.⁽²⁾ The ego-ideal subjects the ego to all sorts of restrictions and deprivations against which the Ego revolts from time to time either in festivals of the Saturnalia type or in the manic phase of the mania-melancholia cycle.⁽³⁾ In his book on *The Ego and the Id* Freud continued to elaborate the theory of the ego-

(1) "Zur Einführung des Narzissmus," *Jahrbuch der Psychoanalyse*, VI (1914) and *Gesammelte Schriften*, VI, 180.

(2) *Gesammelte Schriften*, VI, 180.

(3) Freud, "Massenpsychologie und Ich-Analyse" (1921), *Gesammelte Schriften*, VI, 335.

ideal or, as he now called it, the super-ego. Primarily in the oral phase object-love and identification are the same thing. When the Ego in later phases is compelled to give up, to relinquish the beloved object it consoles itself by a regression to a previous phase, i.e., it introjects or "eats" the object. Possibly no love-object can be left behind without this partial identification and modification of the Ego. The formation of the super-ego is a technique used by the Ego in mastering the forces of the Id; by imitating the first beloved object, the parent, the Ego, offers itself as an object to the Id.⁽¹⁾ The super-ego is characterized by its duplicity. In its role of ego-ideal its supreme command is *be like father*, as super-ego; as the heir to the forbidding father of the Oedipus situation it is essentially a prohibition: *you are not allowed to be like father*, to do what father does.⁽²⁾

Now repression as a psychological mechanism allegedly sets in with the latency period or at least this is the period in which it starts showing its full strength. In some primitive races observers have reported the absence of a latency period, or at least have not been able to document the existence of a latency period.⁽³⁾

However these groups are just like all other human beings. It is possible to analyze their dreams, they have an unconscious, therefore they must also have repression. We must therefore assume that repression does not start all of a sudden at the latency period but has been functioning before that period. At any rate it is closely connected with the Oedipus complex though it may have forerunners in the pre-oedipal phase of organization.

Recent years have brought an increased interest and a tendency to theorize about the pre-oedipal phases of development — and also a reaction against these tendencies. Melanie Klein and her school have discovered the body destruction phantasies of the child. When frustrated the infant reacts with a temper tantrum and the phantasy that goes with the temper tantrum is to tear everything out of the mother's body. In terms of what is probably a latter phase of development this everything good and bad, i.e., milk, becomes symbolically equated with the embryo in the womb, with feces, and with the father's penis. The child fears

(1) *Das Ich und das Es* (1923). *Gesammelte Schriften*, VI, 373, 374.

(2) *Gesammelte Schriften* VI, 378 (*Das Ich und das Es*).

(3) B. Malinowski, "Mutterrechtliche Familie und Oedipus-Komplex," *Imago*, X (1924), 250. Róheim, "Psycho-Analysis of Primitive Cultural Types," *International Journal of Psycho-Analysis*, XIII, 23.

retaliation for these impulses, i.e., that everything will be scooped out of its inside, that it will be left empty, alone, and hungry.⁽¹⁾ The existence of the retaliation anxiety presupposes the dual-unity of mother and child. This is also the fundamental idea in the theoretical constructs made by Hermann. A number of observations regarding the erogeneity of the hand led Hermann to assume that the primary ego and libido organization was not oral but oral-manual. In other words, the infant receives and desires both nourishment and support from the mother. Hermann shows how among apes this mother-child relationship or grasping develops into the mutual grooming which forms the basis of ape and monkey society. Hermann contends that human beings are prematurely separated from their mothers and therefore are always striving to restore the original state of dual-unity. The primary danger is object-loss, i.e., the loss of the mother and this is symbolized in neurotic self-mutilation. The function of nail-biting, etc., is therefore similar to that of the object-loss game described by Freud⁽²⁾ a kind of training in small doses for the inevitable trauma. Freedom means that the Ego replaces the object (to a certain degree). Kant says that to be free means to depend on oneself (de-pend—the infant hanging on to the mother) or as language puts it to be *independent*. According to Schilder the opposite of the grasping impulse is not the "pushing away" or separating impulse, as Hermann would have it, but the desire to maintain one's equilibrium or erect posture.⁽⁴⁾ If we add Schilder's contribution to this theory we arrive at the significant conclusion that our erect stature, that is one of the basic biological facts in the process of becoming human is also the core of our desire for freedom.⁽⁵⁾

In another paper Hermann discusses the inter-relatedness of Ego and Super-Ego on the basis of his theories. The Ego as representing the child wishes to hold on to or grasp the super-ego, but this desire is reflected in the psychic apparatus in the inverted form as the super-ego holding on to the ego. The grasping appears in its reinforced form as

(1) This simplified statement of the English school's views is all my own, as I have now found out that it is difficult to put the views of this school in a form that satisfies the orthodox representatives of these views.

(2) Freud, "Jenseits des Lustprinzips," *Gesammelte Schriften*, VI, 199.

(3) J. Hermann, "Sich-Anklammern Auf Suche Gehen," *Internationale Zeitschrift für Psychoanalyse*, XXII, 349-70.

(4) Schilder, "Sich-Anklammern und Gleichgewicht," *Internationale Zeitschrift für Psychoanalyse*, XXIII (1937). "The Relations Between Clinging and Equilibrium." *Int. Journ. of Psch.* XX. 62.

(5) Cf. Róheim, *The Origin and Function of Culture*. 1943. 94.

aggression, as the punishing function of the super-ego.⁽¹⁾ "Being persecuted" (paranoia, Schreber case) is the seeking impulse turned inward. Hermann explains the "if-then" formula of obsessional neurosis on the basis of the original dual-unity. Anything the child does must produce some effect in another person (mother), an inversion of the archaic state of affairs in which whatever the mother does or whatever she feels has a decisive influence on the child. The if-then formula is really the core of obsessional neurosis. One patient keeps saying, "If I eat that food, father will die," or "If I don't keep my oath something will happen to a member of the family," or "If mother has a good appetite I am not allowed to eat." This compulsion to *unify*, this sort of hanging one group of facts on to another, is developed in this case from the admonitions of the mother who used to remind her daughter that the family was one indivisible unit. Mother and daughter are the same flesh and blood united against the rest of the world. This was the "leading fiction" of the family (in Hermann's case) but reality was different. The little girl could observe her mother having intercourse with her father and could feel instinctively that here was a stronger bond than the unity of mother and daughter.⁽²⁾

The desire to separate things from each other is just as significant in the structure of an obsessional neurosis. In a case I analyzed for years there was an extremely complicated ritual of separation. Every psychoanalytic interpretation was resented as an attempt to break through his striving to keep things neatly apart in separate mental compartments. Behind this was the opposite trend, to unite but in doing so to soil or defile. He would not travel on a certain trolley car in Budapest. The reason was that the stops were few and far between and that it went through a fashionable part of the city. This meant: (a) that he might want to defecate so strongly that he could not resist the urge, (b) that a young and beautiful society girl, a virgin, might be on the trolley car when he had the bowel movement. This would mean defecating on her, soiling her, and also defloration. He went through the most elaborate ceremonial to prevent the catastrophe of having a bowel movement in his pants although he never even had diarrhea. The feces was the aggressive form of the child-mother bond. On the other hand, his tendency to separate things was an eternal complaining, a dramatization of the

(1) J. Hermann, "Zur Triebbesetzung von Ich und Über-Ich," *Internationale Zeitschrift für Psychoanalyse und Imago*, XXV (1940), 137.

(2) Hermann, "Ich und Über Ich," *Zeitschrift*, XXV, 135.

fact that he had been separated from his mother. Going far from his home, mainly from the bathroom (toilet) was a catastrophe. He liked hikes in the country but he could not make up his mind to leave home so he went only to the next corner, then just a little further, and sort of drifted into a day's tour. He had to take some symbol of home with him (a certain cloak, or a book) — then he had not really left home at all.

The patient was a middle-aged married man who had grown up in a family with his mother, a maid, and three sisters. Father was a travelling salesman, seldom at home. He was therefore an outsider in this purely female group. They undressed before each other and he had to go out of the room, and his sisters had certain secrets, things they would stop talking about when he was present. On the other hand, he as the only boy was his mother's cherished favourite, a dependency which he would never give up.

As far as I can see there are two main weak points in the constructs as elaborated by Hermann. One is that although he starts out with the concept of an oral-manual zone or phase of organization, he seems to forget the importance of the oral and bases everything on the grasping impulse. This is partly remedied in his latest publication where he assumes a "seeking impulse" which is phylo-genetically older than the grasping and is really a seeking or holding on with the mouth.⁽¹⁾ The other error in exaggeration is to *derive* aggression from grasping whereas aggression is evidently older and more universal than grasping.

Hermann's equation of super-ego and ego with parent and child is based on Freud. Just as the child was compelled to obey its parents the ego is subjected to the categorical imperative of the super-ego.⁽²⁾ For the ego to live means to be beloved or more exactly to be beloved by the super-ego, the representative of parental authority.⁽³⁾

If, after this preparatory excursion into psychoanalytical theory we attempt to build up our own constructs regarding the early and nebulous phase of dual-unity or archaic object love, (Bálint) the first thing we have to emphasize is that it is through a series of frustrations that the infant discovers reality. It follows that it is also through the same frus-

(1) Hermann, "Anklammerung, Feuer, Schamgefühl," *Internationale Zeitschrift für Psychoanalyse und Imago*, XXVI, 257, quoting Peiper, *Der Saugvorgang.. Ergebnisse der inneren Medizin und Kinderheilkunde*, Band II, 1936.

(2) Freud, "Das Ich und Das Es," *Gesammelte Schriften*, VI, 393, 394.

(3) Freud, *Ibid.*, 404.

trations that the mother is discovered as the pleasure-giving part of reality. When thwarted and having to bear the suspense of hunger the infant starts sucking its thumb, i.e., it cathects its own body with libido withdrawn from (or not gratified by) the object. The body is re-invested with object-libido, and thus the libidinal basis of the ego is similar to that of the super-ego.⁽¹⁾ The super-ego of the Oedipus phase is the introjected father. To introject is to incorporate, to eat up, and the archaic super-ego of the pre-oedipal phase is the introjected mother, the nipple. I assume that the ego too is formed by an analogous process (nipple replaced by thumb or any other pleasure giving part of the body) though one can hardly call it introjection at a phase of development in which there is nothing to introject into. The main thing, however, is that introjection in its original form is not a "giving in to" the prohibitions of the father but an incorporated phantasy nipple, a hallucinatory supplement of the biological process of sucking. The point in this is that the super-ego in its original form is a device to make separation from the mother bearable or to deny separation. Mother and child are now reunited as super-ego and ego.

Besides this pleasure-principle introjection, however, another process is going on, that of *introjecting reality*. At this pre-historic phase of development the borderlines of what we perceive as concepts must be extremely blurred. The frustration period is the basis both of what later becomes "reality" and what later becomes the "bad mother." Hence the archaic super-ego is already the seat of aggression or hostility turned inward. Hermann is probably right in his criticism of the Melanie Klein school when he observes that the infant's desire to deprive the mother of her body contents is already a reaction to the feeling of being deprived of her presence⁽²⁾ (hungry). What actually takes place between ego and super-ego is a series of separations in which the super-ego is really present, i.e., is hostile to the ego and the periods of reunion in which this hostility is absent (hunger and intake of nourishment, melancholia-mania). Now the point is that this fundamental structure of the psyche is the imprint of the events of our first reality experience. This is the main thing that actually happens to the infant, mother is either present or absent. Thus we attempt to create a

(1) Of course this is only partly true because there are other pleasure-nuclei of the Ego that are independent of the object-seeking trend.

(2) J. Hermann, "Anklammerung, Feuer, Schamgefühl," *Internationale Zeitschrift für Psychoanalyse und Imago*, XXVI, 269.

psyche in which this is denied (introjected nipple) yet in reality we create a structure in which the dual unity (superego-ego) and the alternating periods of separation and reunion are mirrored.

But what about the Ego itself? It originates in a separation for it is a part of the Id that has become differentiated from the original matrix,⁽¹⁾ but it is also based on object libido reinvested in the body, separated from the object. Hence the ego is all for *synthesis*⁽²⁾ in order to avoid a repetition of separation. The ego is the core of the *individual*, that which is not further divisible, i.e., the separation of mother and child can not be repeated. In neurosis the synthesis does not function well because the Ego achieves its aim by giving way to reality at the expense of the Id while a dys-harmony in the opposite sense is characteristic of psychosis.⁽³⁾

Nunberg also assumes that the desire of the Ego for synthesis is partly responsible for the origin of the super-ego because the super-ego represents both the environment and the Id.⁽⁴⁾

The demands of the super-ego and of environment are often at variance with those of the Id. Some Id impulses must be prevented from entering into the conscious Ego and this is achieved by the mechanism of *repression*. If the super-ego is derived from the introjected parental images and the primary reason for the existence of the archaic (maternal) super-ego is an attempt to obviate separation periods, we can see how originally there must be war in the psyche between Id (Child) and Super-Ego (Mother). For the frustration-separation period is characterized by the aggression mobilized in the child and the retaliation anxiety due to this aggression. In clinical analysis we observe only the super-ego aggression but the analysis serves to mobilize the repressed aggression of the Ego against the Super-Ego.

As the introjected object represents the most potent fact in the life of the infant the nipple (the mother) unification cannot take place against the introject. Whatever is directed against the introject has to be repressed, and the internal war is thereby hidden or veiled. At the pre-oedipal level this would be the aggression against the mother, and at the Oedipus level whatever goes against the father, i.e., the desire to

(1) Cf. S. Freud, "Das Ich und das Es", *Gesammelte Schriften*, VI, 382.

(2) H. Nunberg, "Ich-stärke und Ich-schwäche", *Internationale Zeitschrift für Psychoanalyse*, XXIV (1939), 49-61.

(3) S. Freud, "Neurose und Psychose", *Gesammelte Schriften*, V, 418-422, H. Nunberg, op. cit., 53.

(4) Nunberg, op. cit., 55.

kill the father and to have intercourse with the mother. The unity of the Ego is thus maintained by repression, by *withdrawing* (separating) the word-concept and cathexis from the drive.⁽¹⁾ At the same time the Censor does not function exactly like a dam built against a river, but like a sieve which lets only particles through and regulates the admissible doses. Modified and displaced representatives of the original drives are admitted and thus the unity of the Ego is achieved. In schizophrenia where repression does not function properly the synthetising function, i.e., the Ego, is very weak. Hermann is probably right in deriving repression and all defense mechanisms in general from the trend to push away, to separate but in another sense repression is an attempt to prevent separation. If the defense-mechanisms represent the periods in the infants life in which the mother and child are *separated*, the return of the repressed should correspond to the reunion. The act of falling asleep and any other pleasure-giving moment of life would also be the reunion of child and mother, of Ego and Id.

The attempt to explain the psychological laws governing certain social relations on the basis of the primary dual-unity situation is powerfully supported by the evidence of Greek mythology.

The Erinyes, the ghost-like beings or real ghosts who later avenge all infringements of the ethical code are originally the ghosts of the murdered mother. The ghost of the victim persecutes the murderer (Sophocles, *Electra*, 1417).⁽²⁾ In Homer the Erinyes are active mainly as the spirits who avenge the wrongs committed within the family and excepting in one case it is always an offence against the mother.⁽³⁾ Oedipus is haunted by his mother's Erinyes. In the Oresteia we find the Erinyes in what was probably its original role as the haunting ghost of the murdered mother.

Demeter is Earth-Mother and the existence of a Demeter Erinyes is clear proof of the maternal character of this goddess of vengeance.⁽⁴⁾ J. E. Harrison quotes the following story from Pausanias: Psamathe, daughter of Krotopos, King of Argos, had a child by Apollo which she exposed because she feared her father's anger. The child was found and killed by the sheep dogs of Krotopos. Apollo sent Poinē (Penalty or

(1) Cf. S. Freud, Die Verdrängung. *Gesammelte Schriften*. V. 466-477.

(2) G. Weicker, *Der Seelenvogel* (1902), 3.

(3) Rapp, "Erinyes," *Roschers Lexikon*, I (1884-90), 321.

(4) Cf. W. Mannhardt, *Mythologische Forschungen* (1884), 224-96. The horse-headed Demeter Erinyes is a nightmare, cf. Jones.

Vengeance) to punish them and she did so by snatching children from their mothers. The hero Koroibos slew her but a pestilence came upon the city and he had to go to Delphi to expiate his sin (Pausanias I. 43, 7.) The Anthologists have preserved a verse which was either carved on the 'grave' of Poine or at any rate is connected with this myth:

"I am the Ker, slain by Koribos, I dwell on his tomb

Here at my feet, on account of the tripod, he lies for his doom."

J. E. Harrison observes that if Poine here is a Ker she is also plainly an Frinys and also points out the evident analogy with the myth of the Sphinx.⁽¹⁾ The Ker is a ghost but also fate and death.⁽²⁾ "Poine is clearly the avenging ghost of the child Psamathe causing a pest which snatched babes from their mothers, and Poine the ghost-pest is a Ker and practically a Ker-Erinys."⁽³⁾

Ker-Erinys simply means "ghost-angry" (in Arcadia) or to be angry. Demeter Erinys is therefore the wrathful Demeter.⁽⁴⁾

The myth interests us from another point of view. Hermann, who emphasizes the traumatic significance of the separation from the mother, postulates in the exposure of the infant a phylogenetic prototype of this situation, similar to the Primal Horde in relation to the Oedipus complex.⁽⁵⁾ We may bar the phylogenetic point of view in this connection as this period of baby exposure is open to very much doubt, and see both in the real mother and in the female demon "Vengeance" the bad mother, the period of separation itself. The hero, another Sphinx-slayer like Oedipus, is the child who by his mere survival overcomes the frustration period, till he succumbs to death, to Ker, the final separation.

The Erinys, as in the story of Cain, are identical with the blood of the murdered. "And the Lord said unto Cain, Where is Abel thy brother? And he said, I know not; Am I my brother's keeper? And he said, What has thou done? The voice of thy brother's blood crieth unto me from the ground. And now cursed art thou from the ground which hath opened her mouth to receive thy brother's blood from thy hand."

(1) J. E. Harrison, *Prolegomena*, 213.

(2) Harrison, *op. cit.*, 165-212.

(3) Harrison, *op. cit.*, 213.

(4) Harrison, *op. cit.*, 214.

(5) Hermann, "Anklammerung, Feuer, Schamgefühl," *Internationale Zeitschrift für Psychoanalyse*, XXVI, 263.

(Genesis 4.9-11.) In Aeschylus Choephoroi Apollo threatens the slayer of his mother with:

Yet other onsets of Erinyes sent
Of kindred blood the dire accomplishment
Visible visions that he needs must mark
Aye though he twitch his eyebrows in the dark.

The emphasis is both on the physical destruction emanating from the blood and on the role played by the Earth in these beliefs. The chorus in the Choephoroi sings:

Earth that feeds him hath drunk of the gore
Blood calling for vengeance flows never more
But stiffens and pierces its way
Through the murderer, breeding diseases that none may allay.

Pausanias (VIII. 24. 8, 9) relates the story of Alcmaeon. He had slain his mother Eriphyle and Pythia told him that the only land where the avenger could not dog him was the newest land which the sea had laid bare subsequent to the pollution of his mothers blood and he found out the deposit of the river Achelous and lived there. There by the new and unpolluted land he might be nourished and live.⁽¹⁾ The polluted Earth Mother is the symbolic equivalent of the murdered mother.

Gradually, however, the Erinyes, originally the talion punishment for mother-directed aggression, i.e., for aggression on the pre-oedipal level, becomes the sanction for everything that is against law and order. The Greeks regarded these spirits of wrath as synonymous with curses.⁽²⁾ They protect not only the family but also the rights of strangers and beggars. The oath is under their tutelage. It is especially characteristic of them that they avenge conceit, i.e., they function in the role of the super-ego. With Ate, Zeus and the Moira they punish Agamemnon for having taken the share of Achilles from the spoil.⁽³⁾ Ate who is nearly the same as Erinyes is "eldest daughter of Zeus," she is Guilt herself. Guilt makes people become guilty and punishes them for their guilt.

(1) Harrison, *op. cit.*, 219, 220.

(2) O. Gruppe, *Griechische und römische Mythologie* (1906), I, 767.

(3) Ilias, XIX, 87-147.

Whereas in real life and belief the Erinyes is the punishment for matricide, "a mother's curse," in myth they originate from the drops of blood that fall from the penis of the castrated father-god of Uranos.⁽¹⁾ In other words, guilt is here derived from the castration complex, from the separation of Uranos from Gaia. In an Aitolian legend the Seirenes originate from the blood drops that fell when Herakles broke off the horn of Acheloo.⁽²⁾ This is of course the same myth, the son who castrates the father (horn = penis). Erinyes and the Seirene are the same thing, in fact, the Erinyes is also essentially identical with all the other female demons of death in Greek mythology, with the Ker, the Gorgo, the Harpy, the Lamia and all the others. The demon bird that tears the soul out of the body or carries it to the other world and effects the final separation is the same thing as the talion anxiety in the mother-child situation. The thread of life is cut by the third, the last of the Moirai, by Death. If we accept Hermann's conjecture (quoted above) that "persecution", "being hunted" or "chased" as a motive is an inversion of the desire to grasp, to hold on to, and that this is mirrored in the relationship of the super-ego to the ego, we can understand the representation of the Erinyes as hunter or as a dog chasing its prey. On the other hand clinical analysis destroys our belief in the un-ambivalent nature of maternal love. Child-birth is a separation, the loss of a part and the mother, the Erinyes, or the Super-Ego, is trying to eat, to destroy, to re-incorporate the lost part. Mankind is forever trying to re-unite what has been separated and to separate what has been united.

(1) Hesiodos, *Theogonia* 185 (Apollodoros 1, 14).

(2) G. Weicker, *Der Seelenvogel* (1902), 46, 47.

(3) Cf. Roschers *Lexikon*, "Erinyes", p. 1316.

PART IV. RETROSPECT AND SUMMARY

1. Retrospect

I have followed a thread through a labyrinth of facts without claiming at any time that the thread I follow gives a complete description of all the intricacies of the labyrinth. The subjects I discuss have a vast literature and I have avoided complicating matters by discussing the views of other authors. I think it is necessary however as a kind of postscript to meet possible objections. Thus for instance the fundamental assumption in this book, is that aggression or a trend to separate is innate, just as Eros or a trend to unite is innate and that these two trends must alternate with each other. Naturally frustration will call forth aggression⁽¹⁾ but from the infants point of view the absence of immediate satisfaction is already a frustration. What happens with this aggression when meeting too great obstacles in environment⁽²⁾ whether it continues to break against the rocks like the waves of the ocean or is turned inward or held down by a reaction formation are questions that go beyond the scope of the present treatise. In envisaging aggression within the framework of the dual-unity concept (Freud, Oceanic Feeling) I am confirmed by the emphasis psychoanalytic investigation places on oral mechanisms in crime.⁽³⁾ The oral symbolism of the ordeal is also emphasized by Reik but he thinks in terms of the pre-historic totem eating and phylogenesis, not in terms of the dual unity and ontogenesis.⁽⁴⁾ In the chapter on retaliation I have discussed the mania-melancholia mechanism of crime and punishment in primitive societies. In this respect my views are somewhere halfway between Zilboorg who speaks of the instinctual drives temporarily overcoming the resistance of the super-ego⁽⁵⁾ and Bergler who regards the unconscious feeling of guilt as automatically included in the deed. Primitives in general would certainly feel an intolerable super-ego pressure if they did not react with aggression in certain situations, but whether the "aim" of the aggression in these situations is always to elicit the punishment is not so clear. For one thing of course we are investigating a different subject. In primi-

(1) Dollard J. Et al. *Frustration and Aggression*. 1939.

(2) Cf. Neal E. Miller and John Dollard, *Social Learning and Imitation*. 1941. 63.

(3) Edmund Bergler, Suppositions about the Mechanism of Criminosis, *Journal of Criminal Psychopathology*, V, 215-246. Alexander and Healy, *Roots of Crime*, 1935.

(4) The. Reik, *Der Unbekannte Morder*. 1932. 106.

(5) Gr. Zilboorg, *Mind, Medicine and Man*, 1943. 253.

tive society there are hardly any habitual criminals⁽¹⁾ and I doubt whether a Central Australian who kills his rival when fighting for a woman does so because he desires to get punished and not because he desires to keep the woman. That he identifies himself (to a certain degree) with anything he has killed and feels guilty is of course true but how far this enters as a causative factor in the deed is another question. The hunter kills the animal because he is hungry and then feels guilty because whatever he has killed becomes a father (or mother) representative. We must not forget that in primitive societies the distinction between actions that are "right" and those that are "wrong" is not always quite clear.

Finally the problem of war. In a recent monographe on the subject of the evolution of war, M. R. Davie comes to a certain conclusion which I believe completely false, notwithstanding the erudition the author shows in collecting his data. "Since war is so fundamental a phenomenon its explanation must be sought in the basic conditions of life. One such condition is land for it is from the land that all means of subsistence are ultimately drawn. Man has had to struggle for a living there is no "boon of nature" or "banquet of life". Man did not find any endowment awaiting him, nor a feast set for an unlimited number; he did not meet with ease and plenty."⁽²⁾ The more the people to be maintained on a given stage of the arts and on a given amount of land, the greater the struggle for existence for there are more mouths to feed with a limited amount of food. This struggle has ever been intensified by the tendency of population to increase more rapidly than the means of subsistence.⁽³⁾ Therefore the author concludes, each group has to fight its rivals in a struggle for existence and this naturally leads to war." The most elemental economic motive is the quest for food. On the lowest stages of societal evolution men themselves are regarded as part of food supply. Human flesh is animal meat and cannibalism in such cases is part of the group's self maintenance". "Evidence from primitive peoples shows that cannibalism especially when practiced on members of the outgroup is commonly prompted either by actual want or by a liking for human flesh".⁽⁴⁾

(1) See however, for exceptions G. Róheim, "The Primal Horde and Incest in Central Australia." *Journal of Criminal Psychopathology*. III. 1942. 454-460.

(2) M. R. Davie, *The Evolution of War*. 1929. 9.

(3) M. R. Davie, *op. cit.*, 66.

(4) M. R. Davie, *op. cit.*, 66.

My first objection refers to the author's method in grouping the data drawn from his sources. If we are trying to construct an evolutionary scheme of social phenomena (war) we must first distinguish, food gatherers from agricultural or pastoral tribes. It is evident that man in the beginning of his evolution neither cultivated the soil nor did he breed cattle. Therefore in a reconstruction of this kind only evidence taken from food gathering tribes should be used. Here again decisive weight should be given to the Australian evidence. Whereas all the other food gathering tribes are isolated groups living among people who have reached a higher stage of economic evolution⁽¹⁾ here we have a large number of tribes covering a whole continent and without contact with any higher form of social organization. The Australian evidence along completely refutes the theory of warfare as due to the "struggle for life." The conclusions arrived at by Wheeler many years ago have been confirmed by every worker in the field. "Wars for conquest are not to be found in Australia." "There is no need to fight for food." "War exists as a rule, merely with a judicial character which gives it its regulated form." "Warfare proper only arises as a result of a blood feud due to the killing of a member of one local group by a member of another local group, nearly always by magical means".⁽²⁾ The *psychological* origins of war are brought out quite clearly by the Australian evidence. To quote, for instance, Lloyd Warner.

"The idea underlying most Murngin warfare is that the same injury should be inflicted on the enemy group that one's own group has suffered. This accomplished, a clan feels satisfied, otherwise there is a constant compulsion toward vengeance, causing a continuous restlessness among those who are out to "buy back" the killing of one of their clansmen".⁽³⁾

"The aim of the avenging expedition is to give the inhabitants of another camp the same reason for mourning that they have had"—says Strehlow.⁽⁴⁾ Or to quote a detail from a description of the revenge expedition in New South Wales.

"After a while an old man breaks the silence and enquires sorrow-

(1) With the exception of the Andamanese. Here too, the blood feud seems to have been the main reason for war. (A. R. Brown, *The Andaman Islanders*, 1922. 86 87.) Cf. the section on the Blood Feud.

(2) G. C. Wheeler, *The Tribe and Intertribal Relations in Australia* 1910. 148, 149.

(3) W. Lloyd Warner, *A Black Civilization*. 1937. 159.

(4) C. Strehlow, *Die Aranda und Loritja-stämme in Zentral Australien*. Veröffentlichungen aus dem städtischen Völker Museum. Frankfurt am Main IV. Abt. II.) 1915. 20.

fully "Where are all my grandchildren?" This is an exaggerated way of referring to the death they are about to avenge. It is also symbolical of the sorrow of the doomed man's friends when his death shall have been reported to them. All the sleepers answer "i-i-i-wah!" in a very mournful tone.⁽¹⁾ This is what war means, *that mourning is passed on to the other group*.

The sources used by Davie are plentiful but used as if they all had equal weight. Thus in the chapter on which he bases his decisive conclusions "where war exists and where not" (Chapter IV.) Australia is represented by the following authors. Howitt, Brough-Smyth, and Semon. Generalizations of the kind the author makes, (p. 63, 64) have no value.

My other objection refers to the author's idea of hunting men like one hunts animals. Here the author bases his conclusions on field workers and of course he can not help it if they lead him astray. The authors he refers to are mostly of the older group of field workers whose observations are not always reliable. Moreover it is easy to be misled by one's native informants in these matters, they may affirm complete indifference and say they would just as easily eat a man as a pig, yet further inquiry shows that this is mere bravado and that underlying this statement there is the usual complicated mechanism of anxiety, conflict and defence.⁽²⁾ Human beings feel remorse even when killing animals and humans who would not be resolving a conflict in themselves when practicing cannibalism — would be so primitive that they would not be human at all and therefore presumably not carnivorous.

The other thesis about land and limited supplies and populations multiplying as far as the environment will permit them to do so, is of course based on text books of economy. But it is not true. In Normanby Island there was plenty of land available in the interior which was unoccupied and this was not because of the occasional cannibal raids in the past but simply because the women did not want children. In pre-human days the small hordes of mankind must have been so few and far between that they could not even know each other.⁽³⁾

(1) R. H. Matthews, *Ethnological Notes on the Aboriginal Tribes of New South Wales and Victoria*. 1905. 44.

(2) All this is based on my own field work among cannibals and will be published elsewhere.

(3) Cf. for a striking modern instance A. R. Brown, *The Andaman Islanders*, 1922. 87.

2. SUMMARY

We have come to some hypothetical conclusions both on the origin of psychological structures and mechanisms and on the effect that these have in shaping human destinies, human societies. First we have assumed that the "man against himself"⁽¹⁾ mechanisms, aggression turned inward, can be explained on the basis of the dual-unity situation. This does not refute Freud's death impulse; that may still be true as a deeper underlying factor. But it is evident that there is more "inward turned aggression" in humans than in animals and this must be so if the basic element is the dual-unity situation, i.e., prolonged infancy.

The second important conclusion is that society or the group as a unit is a fictive repetition of the dual-unity situation.

We know that this dual-unity is true in a decreasing degree as the child grows up. Human nature maintains as a fiction what is no more a reality and hence the ideas of society as "one body" with individuals as its "members." We cling to the past in these fictions and we also try to recreate it. Hence we form societies. A convincing proof for this is found in the "societies" of our immediate forebears or cousins, the monkeys and apes. In this case we see "grooming" relationships, which among lower animals are only found in the mother-child situation, carried over to age-mates and become mutual. (Hermann) The other convincing proof that the dual-unity or mother-child situation has something to do with social origins lies in the oral symbolism of union, of covenant rites.

Since Freud we have always assumed that the outside world is first discovered through frustration. Whatever is good or pleasurable is the Ego and whatever is bad or painful is the Non-Ego. What goes in is "good," i.e., food and what goes out is "bad", i.e., excrements. Extending this analogy from the ego through dual-unity to the group we see the psychological motivation of nationalism (we are good) and of war (they are bad). However we see also the psychological basis for opposing trends (internationalism). The libido follows in the path of the destructive impulses. Aggression follows every identification in a tendency to separate, this is also true vice versa and every aggression is followed by identification. War and international relationships are specifically based on the Oedipus situation, the father is the first stranger in the infant's life and the stranger is always the father. It remains for historians to show how through the identification of the king and the father,

(1) K. A. Menninger, *Man Against Himself* (1937).

the existence of foreign dynasties has influenced the relations of one nation to another and the course of history.

From the point of view of the social fiction crime is in-group hostility, i.e., a failure in projecting aggression beyond the frontiers of the group. Really, however, "civil offences" in primitive society are simply based on the inevitable conflicts provoked by life. Legislation is another matter, the retaliation for these civil offenses is based on the "sympathy group" or emotional identification, i.e., ultimately on the mother-child situation. The forerunner of law is *retaliation*, based on an interaction of successive phases of mania-melancholia. It is different with criminal offenses.

Society as a whole takes action mostly in cases we would call "sacrilege." Sacrilege is the return of the repressed, the retaliation becomes necessary in order to reinforce repression. From repression in society I have come to consider repression in the individual. It seemed to follow (cf. Hermann's theories) that the fundamental structure of the psyche can be explained in terms of the infant's primary experience, the periods of separation from and those of reunion with the mother.

There is an old Jewish anecdote which runs somewhat as follows. The student asks the Rabbi, "Rabbi, do thoughts come from the outside to the inside or do they go from the inside to the outside?" Wisely stroking his patriarchal beard the Rabbi replies, "If you put the question this way, I say yes!" The answer implies that there is no answer. The conclusion we arrive at refutes this. It means that "thoughts" i.e., the psyche itself first comes from the outside to the inside and then once being structuralized inside goes outside, i.e., shapes our destinies.

But it would be a great misunderstanding of my views to assume that these things alone shape our destinies. This is a general frame but not the explanation of any specific case. Just as our psychoanalytic theories alone cannot explain any single individual, just as every neurosis or personality has a history, so has every form of society, every criminal action, every war, a history of its own.

Yet I believe that the structure of our psyche has had a profound influence on human history. These mechanisms are pliable as far as the object to which they attach themselves goes, but they will reappear again and again in a million shapes. There is of course another and more usual method of interpretation of social facts, running somewhat on the following lines.

Social cohesion is necessary because a society must act in harmony to cope with the difficulties of environment. For the same reason ag-

gression must be directed to the out-group because every group finds other groups as rivals in the struggle for life. This argument of course equates cause and effect; it is *teleological*. Even as such it is not always convincing. For instance, if there is really anything to fight about between the two groups they might also come to an agreement without fighting. The teleological argument needs a Darwinian mechanism as a supplement: all those groups which failed to evolve certain institutions have disappeared in the struggle for life. Now assuming that this is really the case, our method of interpretation still stands in its own rights. These pressures originating in reality would have to operate through the medium of the psyche and they would even so mobilize the archaic mechanisms we have been discussing. However this is not the way I believe things actually go. First we have to reckon with our infantile experience, the mechanisms arising from this experience, and then the possible "social," i.e., object-related situations arising out of these mechanisms. Environment comes afterwards, it weeds out manifestations of the original mechanisms and contents if they are incompatible with reality or reinforces them, if they are usable.

The history of our own days has taught us one thing clearly. This is that a totalitarian state must head for war while a democracy is essentially peaceful. One reason for this is quite realistic, viz., that in a democracy the individual has something to say about it and probably very few individuals when taken as such feel a desire to attack an unknown people in a strange land. In a totalitarian state, of course, they have nothing to say about it; their existence is denied, ostensibly merged into the state, really dominated by the dictator. However there is also another, psychological reason. In a democracy we have regulated in-group aggression, therefore projecting aggression beyond the frontiers is not necessary. In primitive societies we have the fore-runners of this type of group-living in tournaments, regulated duels, in food-distribution ceremonies and also in trade. But the discussion of these institutions goes beyond the scope of the present book.

Knowing these things is far from helping us to overcome them. We need this knowledge because we have to do something about environment. We cannot eat it so we have to eat it or incorporate it symbolically. Yet perhaps some day Reason may triumph. We don't know. But we do know that our desire to form theories, to comprehend, to unite is one of the many offsprings of Eros.

FINIS

1 West 85th Street
New York City



Latin American News and Comments

by S. B. KUTASH

The Faculty of Medical Sciences of the Central University of Ecuador announces the foundation of a permanent Institute of Legal Medicine which will be connected with the University. Dr. Jose Cruz Cueva has been appointed as Secretary of the Institute and can be addressed at Pichincha No. 24, Quito, Ecuador. He will be happy to establish contact with similar organizations, clinics and institutes in the United States in order to further the mutual interchange of scientific knowledge and information in the fields of legal medicine and forensic psychiatry.

The general purpose of the Institute is to further the advancement and progress of the study of Legal Medicine and its related disciplines. Specifically, the Institute seeks to accomplish the following aims: (1) the dissemination of knowledge in the field of legal medicine; (2) the improvement of its teaching in the universities; (3) scientific investigation and research to furnish a basis for the greater understanding and solution of medico-legal problems in Ecuador; (4) technical cooperation with all agencies and officials engaged in the administration of justice; and (5) technical reform of the laws dealing with medico-legal problems.

The organization has five classes of members: charter members, active members, corresponding members, honorary members and life members. Scientists from countries other than Ecuador are eligible to be elected as honorary members of the Institute. The Dean of the Faculty of Medical Sciences and the professors of Legal Medicine, Psychiatry, Histology and Pathological Anatomy, Criminology and Penal Law, and Toxicology of the Central University of Ecuador are life members.

Some Specific activities of the Institute are the rendering of expert opinions on particular cases referred to it by the courts, the establishment of specialized courses in various aspects of legal medicine, publication of scientific works in criminology and legal medicine and the recommendation of desirable changes in the penal laws which would take into account the important findings of medicine and psychiatry.

With the establishment of the Institute of Legal Medicine, Ecuador takes its place at the side of Brazil, Argentina and other Latin American countries who have set up similar institutes.

* * *

The Institute of Criminology of the Government Ministry of Justice and Prisons of Ecuador has been in existence since September 1936. During its existence, it has furthered the development of the following aims which have revitalized criminological and penal practices in that country:

1. Facilities were set up for the individual study of every offender prior to the imposition of sentence by the court.
2. Scientific methods were sponsored and instituted for the purposes of classification and treatment of prison inmates.
3. Agencies were set up for the registration and identification of delinquents.
4. Psychiatric control of delinquency in systematic and continuous form was instituted through cooperation with courts, prisons, and justice officials.
5. General minimum standards were set up for penal and reformatory institutions.
6. Reports were made on individual cases which were submitted for commutation, remission of sentence, pardons, parole or granting of conditional liberty.
7. Researches were sponsored into the study of crime and its determinant causes from the etiological, clinical and therapeutic aspects.
8. Standards were fixed for treatment, moral and intellectual education, and for work programs in prisons.
9. Suitable standards were set up for the building specifications of prisons and penal institutions.
10. Periodical reports were issued on penal matters.
11. Boards of visitors were set up to inspect institutions and qualifications for prison personnel were recommended.

12. Special courses, both theoretical and practical, were organized in Anthropology, Criminology, Psychology, Psychiatry, Legal Medicine, Law, and Special Education, to aid in the training of legal medical specialists.

13. Practical direction and supervision of the work of graduates in Penal Law and Forensic Psychiatry was provided as well as their placement in suitable positions.

The entire program can serve as a model for other countries who wish to improve their methods of crime control.

* * *

The Argentine Psychoanalytic Association has been holding frequent meetings at which scientific psychoanalytic papers are presented. The following are some of the papers presented at recent meetings:

June 1943—Impotence and the Actual Neuroses by Celes Ernesto Carcamo

July 1943—Contribution to the Psychoanalytic Theory of Schizophrenia by E. Pichon Riviere
Psychosomatic Considerations in the Sexual Development of the Child by Arnaldo Rascovsky

August 1943—Analysis of a Case of Feminine Homosexuality by Marie Langer
The Dynamics of Epilepsy by Enrique Pichon Riviere

September 1943—Analysis of a Case of Fugue by Luis Rascovsky

November 1943—Psychosomatic Study of Heart Trouble by Guillermino Ferrari Hardoy
Environmental Reality and the Instincts in Schizophrenia by Angel Garma

One of the important activities of the Argentine Psychoanalytic Association consists of Seminar Courses for analysts which are presented in the neuropsychiatric consulting rooms of the Children's Hospital of Buenos Aires under the direction of Drs. Arnaldo Rascovsky and Enrique Pichon Riviere. In addition lectures and commentaries are held dealing with the classical works of psychoanalytic thought. From time to time, theoretical seminary courses presenting general psychoanalytic theory and the applications of psychoanalysis to distinct aspects of cultural thought, are announced by the Association.

The Library of the Faculty of Medical Sciences of the Republic of Argentina announces that because of the exceptional conditions now prevalent with regard to the mail services between North and South America, many irreplaceable losses of important scientific publications from the United States have occurred. They have therefore made arrangements for the year 1944, to have a special representative, G. E. Stechert & Co., 31-37 East 10th Street, New York City, to whom all such publications consigned to Argentina are to be sent. This will prevent future losses.

* * *

Senor Alvaro A. Araujo of Uruguay has called to our attention the activities of the Inter-American Bureau of Information of which he is the Director. The primary objective of the Bureau is the promotion of the unity of the Americas through cultural interchange. To further this purpose, the Bureau supplies free of charge to all interested persons in any American country, information, material, books, photographs, and clippings, in the fields of Art, Science, Philosophy, Letters, History, Political Economy, Industry and Business, produced in or relating to the country of Uruguay.

The Bureau also assists persons and institutions engaged in research to collect data of use to them in their work and puts scientific investigators in contact with Uruguayans engaged in kindred activities. The address of this organization is Alvaro A. Araujo, Casilla de Correo 147, Montivedeo, Uruguay.

* * *

Professor Nerio Rojas of Beunos Aires has recently proposed a comprehensive plan for the protection and rehabilitation of drug addicts and the prevention and control of illegal traffic in drugs and narcotics. The project was presented originally before the Chamber of Dymties of the Republic of La Plata and has been published in full in the "Archivos de Medicina Legal".

The plan consists of two parts. The first deals with the proposed amendments to the existing law and contains eleven articles encompassing the civil, penal and administrative aspects of the problem. The care and treatment of narcotic addicts is made obligatory and two methods of bringing patients under treatment are provided. These are by vol-

untary internment with the approval of the director of the hospital or penal establishment and by court order upon certification and commitment by two qualified examiners, medico-legal experts, experienced specialists or psychiatrists.

The revision of the Legal Code is suggested so as to effectively curb the sale, traffic in or possession of narcotics or habit-forming drugs without a medical prescription or in greater doses than prescribed. The attending physician who prescribes narcotics is held responsible for justifying the prescription as essential to the medical treatment of the patient. Severe penalties are provided for falsification of prescriptions or pharmaceutical orders.

The importation of alkaloids and narcotics is limited to drug stores and pharmaceutical houses and all such drugs must be brought in through the port of the federal Capitol and only by authorization of the National Department of Hygiene

The second part of the plan is a complete and masterful discussion of its purposes, methods of operation and fundamental bases. The integration between the legal and medical aspects of the problem achieved is commendable and shows the increasing tendency to carefully delineate the relationship between law and medicine by specific medico-legal laws.

Abstracts From Current Literature

A - Neuropsychiatry

THE CORRECTIONAL INSTITUTION IN THE ETIOLOGY OF CHRONIC HOMOSEXUALITY. MARSHALL C. GRECO AND JAMES C. WRIGHT. *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*. 14:295-307, April 1944.

The authors distinguish two modes of development of overt homosexuality: the *revolutionary* in which the act is perpetrated suddenly and without any apparent previous misadventures and *evolutionary* in which there is a history of a number of sexual mishaps during childhood, attachments in the pre-puberty age and definite homosexual behavior during pubescence. The authors indicate that 70% of this series of chronic cases were of the revolutionary type and that 40% of these blamed institutional existence for their downfall. Two schools of thought are prevalent on the direct causation of the act; namely, the psychoanalytic and penological group. The former finds that in early life the child identifies himself with his mother, his sister, or some other person of the opposite sex, usually a relative. He retains this identification to later years and thus acts passively toward advances of his own sex. The other school comprising mostly penologists and correctional officials has the rather naive belief that incarcerated individuals witnessing homosexual acts repeatedly come to accept these as matter of course and become easily inducted into these practices. This is not in conformity with actual experience, however, since a great many individuals incarcerated in institutions witness these acts and may even participate in some form for the time being but never actually become chronic homosexuals. The authors state that probably not more than 2% or 3% of prison populations are definitely homosexual.

In their own series composed of 10 chronic homosexuals and 10 non-homosexuals as a control group, they found that almost invariably the chronics developed overt practices rather suddenly but that they had a previous conditioning background which showed a common pattern

throughout the cases. These conditioning experiences, usually viewed as being merely casual, are really predisposing causes. The developmental course seems to be as follows: the individual's security in early childhood is threatened by lack of parental interest and affection or there is a definite lack of friendships and social recognition from acquaintances in later life. These predisposing causes may be latent for a considerable period and then the young man who actually is greatly in need of affection encounters a homosexual of affectionate nature who shows him all the tenderness he has hitherto lacked. He is eventually seduced and gives in despite his repugnance at being seduced because he does not want to lose the affection and security of his friend. He recognizes the wrongfulness of the act but finds the seducer attractive, nevertheless, and in time succeeds in forgetting the act as being so distasteful. Much of this occurs in prison environment. The young individual undergoing incarceration perhaps for the first time and being projected into an environment which is strange and doubtless disquieting and having the predisposition of lack of affection, readily responds to the overtures of an older and wiser man. It must be recalled that the individual in thus yielding does so in an emotional setting. The affectivity surrounding the act is so strong that it can scarcely be nullified by any matter-of-fact information or cold logic imparted by the penologist, psychiatrist or social worker at a later period; hence, one can readily understand the fixity of homosexual behavior when established. Many of these homosexuals have a liking for girls and may occasionally maintain themselves on a heterosexual level for brief periods.

It will be noted that the authors follow the school of behaviorism inasmuch as they emphasize conditioning by social situations at an early age. No allusion is made by the authors to any constitutional predisposition toward homosexuality.

V. C. B.

DUPLICITY. ARNOLD W. GREEN. *Psychiatry*. 6:411-424, November 1943.

The approach to this problem by Dr. Green is sociological and deals with mass reactions primarily. The author calls attention to the very undesirable traits being developed in civilization as a method of securing success and personal advancement at the sacrifice of integrity. This problem is on the fringe of the great problem of the lowering of standards of morality throughout the world today. The motion picture, according to the author, is an excellent illustration of the methods of duplicity. Stories are constantly depicted in which conventional morality is flaunted and the heroes or heroines attain material objectives through very doubtful means at best. The screen story plainly indicates that conventionally such procedures are acceptable.

The great shift of population by which large numbers of people brought up under rural conditions have migrated to urban areas has so far as the total attitude of the population is concerned, brought about a deterioration in character. The solid contribution that the relationship of man to the soil has to make to the community as a whole has, therefore, been jeopardized by the breaking up of what the author terms "rural-familism". The new economy brought about by the concentration of population tends to loosen the ties of common obligations imposed by community censorship and familial relationships. In the small rural community improper conduct is easily discernible by its members and, therefore, offers something of a check. In the city this scrutiny does not obtain. The family, as a unit, is no longer the cohesive factor in the stabilization of the individual that it formerly was. In addition to this, highly competitive methods of urbanization enforce upon the individual, if he is to succeed, a code of behavior and attitudes which definitely may be put under the term of duplicity itself. Thus the salesman sells his personality. He cultivates charm, effect in his personal presentation, puts on a "front" which does not have a direct relationship with the person on whom these factors are brought to bear. The person remains charming, cordial and

thoroughly congenial only so far as it serves his purpose to build up his own economic goals. These techniques of personality manipulation are not only recognized but are sanctioned by the community. Thus the slogan becomes "Anything goes if you can put it over." The technique of using people to further one's own ends has led to definite encroachments on the ego of those individuals. Thus the subordinate must entirely suppress his own opinions and give absolute obedience to those of his superior. The "yes man" and the fawning attitudes become absolute essentials for progress under urbanized conditions. The ultimate result of this continued process, of course, is to undermine the self-reliance of the individual. This again is an attitude of duplicity. Collectively this leads to a great reservoir of human beings acting as little less than economic slaves to a top control group of policy makers. These policy makers include union leaders, presidents and trustees of universities, czars of federal, state and municipal bureaucratic departments and those who are politically powerful. There is no personal relationship between the control group and those who carry out their policies.

Organization of this kind would seem to offer to the individual in exchange for the prostitution of his ego, an enhanced standard of living and perhaps within his own group, a compensating sense of power. The organization, however, is found to defeat its own ends inasmuch as the organization evolves its own history of traditions and loyalty in itself as something apart from the general public it claims to serve. The greater the power of the control group, the more tyrannical the use of such power and correspondingly, the less effective the service the organization itself can render. All of these are matters of manipulation and duplicity in impersonal relations. The game of self-autonomy in modern society is largely a fallacy. The masses have indeed created Frankenstein and there are many indications that the forces that have thus been put into operation are so great as to have become uncontrollable.

It is possible that this present phase of human activity is transitory. There are

some indications that there is a trend of the more intelligent and better economically endowed classes back to the rural areas with, of course, increased facilities for living, understanding, and manipulating of the rural environment but the limitation of this to any effective purpose is precisely to this group inasmuch as the great mass of people do not have the character, understanding and the yearning for the more spiritual aspects of existence that are to be encountered in the upper strata. Consequently, any group movement of this clique back to the soil is in itself not the achievement that is promised.

The author seems to indicate that some of the present world crisis might find a solution to these really terrific forces that have been released against the good of mankind.

V. C. B.

RELATIONSHIPS AMONG PLAY INTERESTS AND
DELINQUENCY IN BOYS. DALE B. HARRIS.
American Journal of Orthopsychiatry.
13:631-637, October 1943.

Dr. Harris' approach to this subject has been along the lines of Murphy's Canalization Hypothesis. This concept is in effect a theory of selection whereby the organism tends to behave in certain specific manners which have been found useful to it and automatically to have its threshold raised for other stimuli that are not specific. In this manner the behavior of that organism tends to fall into specialized patterns. Obviously, the selectivity may be unconsciously motivated and may not be purposeful and entirely useful to the organism. For example, delinquent behavior itself may be the result of such canalization. Some of the factors determining delinquent behavior are enumerated by the author as put forth by various schools of thought; namely, the group that believes that delinquency is biologically determined, another group that stresses the delinquent as being

a victim of economic forces, still others seeing the causation in broken homes, sibling rivalry, and other familial situations and, of course, the psychiatric group and Freudians with emphasis upon complexes and psychopathy. The modern trend is to recognize the multiple causation of delinquency and to assign in varying degrees each of the above-named factors.

Dr. Harris would add to the above list, the use made by the individual of his leisure time. He calls attention to the lack of thorough follow-through studies of this particular factor. Some sporadic work has been done along these lines, notably that of Thurston who found that delinquents showed a lack of wholesome constructive interest, the Gluecks who determined that leisure time was even used harmfully by delinquents, and the findings of Blumer and Hauser with respect to the deleterious effects of the movies upon children in urban areas. Dr. Harris in bringing these loose ends together determined upon a study of a check list of play activities in institutionalized and unselected boys between the ages of 12 and 19. There was a control group of 63 boys from the public schools of Minneapolis. While he recognized that play activity was only an indirect approach to the problem of delinquency, it was none the less important and was deserving of further study. His proposal is to utilize the canalization hypothesis by establishing wholesome play activities so that rigid behavior patterns could be built up to such an extent that delinquency becomes relatively impossible. It is Dr. Harris' belief that the stages of canalization may be so organized that in the event of improper direction of activities, the exact time at which an individual is most likely to come into contact with the law can be predicted.

V. C. B.

B - Psychoanalysis

MOTHER-MURDER IN MYTH AND LEGEND.

HENRY ALDEN BUNKER. *The Psychoanalytic Quarterly* 13:198-207.

The main contention of the author is that one or two patterns involving the family constellation tend to occur in tragical form again and again in the various mythologies of ancient lore. Dr. Bunker has confined his observations largely to Greek mythology and has selected a group of legendary figures; namely, Oedipus, Orestes, Alcmaeon, Bellerophon, Peleus, and the Norse figure of Beowulf. Of these the story of Oedipus is best-known to students of psychiatry although strangely enough Orestes has appeared in eight great tragedies, Agamemnon in four, and Oedipus in only three. A brief outline of the best-known stories, although possibly well-known to the readers, would be of advantage in understanding the author's parallelisms.

The father of Oedipus who was warned by an oracle that his life was in danger if he allowed his son to grow up, ordered him to be killed. The peasant to whom this duty was assigned did not have the heart to carry out the order but tied up the child by his feet and left him hanging to a tree, (Oedipus equals swollen foot). The boy was rescued and grew up to be a strong young man. Quite unknowingly he became the slayer of his own father, whom he met accidentally on a highway on which passage was disputed. Shortly thereafter he was enabled to rid the city of Thebes from the dreaded Sphinx by solving the riddle propounded to all travelers on the highway over which the Sphinx presided. In gratitude the people made Oedipus their king and gave him in marriage their queen Jocasta. Thus, he became the husband of his mother. Later through an oracle, the slaying of his father and the marriage to his own mother became known with the result that Oedipus was seized with madness, tore

out his eyes, and was abandoned by everyone to lead a wandering life of misery.

The story of Orestes has a very similar background. Agamemnon, the father of Orestes, was killed by the paramour of his wife. Electra, the sister of Orestes, continually urged him to avenge the father's death which he did by killing his mother and her paramour. Public opinion against matricide was so strong, however, that Orestes was forced to flee. In expiation of his guilt he bit off his finger. It will be noted that in both Orestes and Oedipus symbolic castration took place. Each had returned from abroad, murdered his father or father substitute and mother, as well, and each was forced to wander in misery over the face of the earth.

In the other stories, a similar design is evidenced. In these patterns the real meaning of the murder of the mother is sexual intercourse with her. In each instance there is a pronounced development of a sense of guilt with a tendency to expiation. These themes have been characterized by the author as "the theme of the Myth of the Birth of the Hero." It has as its principal motive the overcoming of the father and the winning of the mother with actual incest occurring in a number of cases. In some instances this incest has been unknowingly committed. In the Oedipus story the actual relation with the mother is brought to the fore but the others tend to relegate this to the background in the form of distortion and disguise. Through the murder, escape from repression is achieved. Matricide, therefore, is to be equated with incest followed by expiation in the form of castration. In most instances social condemnation has led to a miserable end for the culprit and castration has been accomplished with barrenness of the soil and in some instances of the female population itself.

V. C. B..

COLLECTIVE DEFENSE MECHANISMS AGAINST
HOMOSEXUALITY. FRITZ WITTELS. *The
Psychoanalytic Review* 31:19-33, January
1944.

This paper should be read in conjunction with Dr. Wittels' other article on the subject appearing in the *Journal of Criminal Psychopathology* of January 1943 under the title of "Struggles of a Homosexual in Pre-Hitler Germany". In the article abundant material is presented to indicate that the Nazi movement in Germany is essentially a national expression of the fear of latent homosexuality. The present paper undertakes to indicate the genesis of such homosexuality, the manner in which it may take mass and even national form and the clan defense mechanisms the latent homosexual may have against his strivings.

According to Dr. Wittels the present German militarism had its foundation in the vainglorious anal-neurotic ruler of Prussia, Frederick William I. As was well known this ruler overtaxed his people to maintain what was then known as the finest army in Europe. His entire realm was subjected to bringing this army to its highest point of efficiency although Frederick William never made an attempt to utilize this source of power. He even had his giant bodyguard, composed of men 6'4" and over, recruited by shanghai and other forcible methods from countries all over the world. He himself suffered from repressed homosexuality but was able to sublimate these tendencies through militarism. He was a stubborn, meticulous and miserly, although not over-cleanly man and displayed marked paranoid tendencies against society. His exactitude toward his subjects went to the extent of his going into private homes and criticizing and directing the preparation of the food and conduct of the establishment.

His son Frederick who showed a decided mother-fixation and marked autocracy was perhaps the most famous of the Prussian line of rulers. His excellent taste in the field of music and art and his undoubted culture in many other fields gave

him the title of Frederick the Great. He is best known of course for his friendship with Voltaire and the extensive correspondence which took place between them. His successors were not able to maintain the high degree of militarism, the arrogance of the Junkers and their sadistic sergeants to the degree that he had brought it but nevertheless so firmly was this impressed upon German militarism that it formed the nucleus out of which Kaiser Wilhelm of World War I was enabled to build his great machine.

The pre-war period of the Kaiser realm was marked by two clearly indicated homosexual trends which have their counterparts throughout the world in varying forms. The first was the dueling carried on by the students of the great universities, particularly those of Heidelberg and the Bonn. The second was the secret society with the drinking bouts to which women were not admitted and homosexuality was suppressed only with the greatest effort. In the duels no feud had to be settled because the duel was the end in itself. Each student became marked with sword slashes and proudly exhibited a scarred face as a badge of honor the rest of his life. Drinking bouts showed the typical German repressed homosexuality inasmuch as the student was required to maintain wooden expression, hold his liquor well, avoid kissing his neighbor, repress all thoughts of female society, and to enjoy heartily male companionship. Later another form of banding together under homosexual restraint took place in the form of turnvereins. Gymnastic exercises were developed with military precision and exactitude which required the utmost discipline of mind and body. All thought of association with women was absolutely forbidden with the rationalization that it prevented full development of one's physical powers. These sublimated homosexual covenants of men made it very easy for Hitler to establish in the period preceding the present war, national youth movements in which some of the turnverein mass gymnastics were brought up to date and the glorifica-

tion of strength, virility, self-denial and servitude of the State at the expense of one's own desires was put on a fanatical basis. Preparation for this attitude, of course, had been made many years before by former rulers of the Prussian State as indicated above. Sublimation of this sort, Dr. Wittels is careful to point out, is successful in preventing overt homosexual acts only so long as the covenant remains strong in its aims and practices. When it degenerates to pure ritual, then the repressed instincts break forth in the form of overt homosexuality. Such conditions prevailed during Hitler's time and the blood purge of his early reign is startling evidence of this fact.

The existence of repressed homosexuality is often encountered in religious fanatic cults. Wittels calls attention to a clinical case which is analyzed rather thoroughly in the last portion of his article. The religious organization Chassidim to which the patient belongs insisted upon avoidance of women and asceticism with respect to personal conduct. The patient was an ill-favored Pole of Jewish extraction who had been trained in this faith since childhood. In the course of events he went to Vienna to work and found that he was avoided by people everywhere on account of his accent and peculiarity of dress. He suffered with loneliness, depression, and a marked sense of ostracism. He masturbated excessively during this time. One day he was taken to a public bath frequented by members of his religious organization and there came into contact with active homosexuals who treated him royally, gave him money, took him to their homes, and in general brought to him the type of life which he had so sadly missed in the past. Despite his troubled conscience over these actions this period represented the only true happiness he had achieved. Undoubtedly he was constitutionally a homosexual and met the conditions required by that group to the satisfaction of all concerned. Perhaps he could have continued for an indefinite period in this orbit but the removal of his family from its native Polish town to Vienna again brought him into close surveillance

of the father. The father noted the unusual tendencies of his son and immediately forced the boy to come back into the strict tenets of the Chassidim. The boy was forced to marry against his desires and lived a fairly abstemious sexual life with his wife whom he considered to be quite frigid. This period gave him the impression that he was actually in the position of being a prisoner. There were many dreams covering the period which indicated the strong homosexual trends of the patient. At that point he underwent a rebellion against his method of living, came to the analyst for treatment and was finally cured of his overt practices.

The components of his homosexuality were determined by his feminine constitution, his breach with the faith of his father, abortive heterosexual attempts with prostitutes, and finally overt sexual adventures in the Turkish Baths of Vienna. He was confronted with his religious faith on the one hand with its attendant strict duties and on the other the desire to lead a modern heterosexual life. The advent of homosexuality thus becomes an intermediate phase in this man's life. His religious observance represented homosexual libido in sublimation and succeeded for a time in defending him against overt homosexuality. Thus the religious fanatic clan of men grouped under the so-called Chassidim served the same purpose in this patient as we observed in the earlier portion of Dr. Wittels' article in the groups of drinking and dueling students of the Heidelberg and Bonn universities. The same sort of breaking through of overt homosexuality is noted when the bonds of the covenant of the group lose their integrity and degenerate into pure ritualism.

Dr. Wittels concludes with the general observation that "in times of transition, we always see expansion of neurotic calamities, until a new civilization produces better defense mechanisms of a social nature."

V. C. B.

C - Clinical Psychology

WISHES OF 109 WOMEN PRISONERS. RUTH S. TOLMAN. *Journal of Genetic Psychology*, 63:259-272, December 1943.

The author analyzes a collection of wishes expressed by 109 women prisoners according to Jersild's classificatory scheme and compares them with the wishes of children, of two groups of elderly persons, and in particular with those of 129 college women previously reported.

The subjects of the study were all adjudged guilty, either by plea or verdict, of a crime which brought them before the Superior Courts of Los Angeles County during the years 1938 to 1940. All had applied for probation and were interviewed during the period of incarceration after plea or verdict of guilty and before date of hearing on probation and sentence. Their ages ranged from eighteen to fifty-three with a median age of twenty-eight. In nationality, the group was composed of seventy-five "American", eight Negro, seven Mexican, seven Canadian or English, six Jewish, four European and one Indian. Alleged years of education ranged from one to fourteen, with a median of ten years. In most cases no effort was made to verify the report of amount of schooling. Only sixteen of the group, or fifteen per cent, were single. The rest had all been married, though their present marital status was often ambiguous. All types of crimes were represented.

At the conclusion of a long interview followed by a psychological test, each woman was given a piece of paper and she was asked to write down what her first *three wishes* would be if she was told that she could have anything she wanted.

There were great differences in the spontaneity of their performance, in the amount of thought underlying the wishes, and almost certainly in the levels of desire sampled. The author also points out that some women had their wishes "on the tips of their tongues" while others spent a long time chewing the pencil and considering the problem.

The classificatory scheme of Jersild,

Markey and Jersild including twenty-one categories with forty-five sub-classifications, was followed in the paper for the purpose of making the comparative analysis.

The most striking finding of the study is the small proportion of wishes for specific objects and material possessions. This contrasts with the strong tendency towards such wishes in children and in all of the other groups. The proportion expressing a desire for money is also quite low in spite of the fact that sixty per cent of the subjects were incarcerated for crimes against property such as forgery and issuing "checks without funds". Furthermore, they were at this time in a situation where money for lawyer's fees, restitution, etc. was urgent. This is, therefore, a surprising finding, which according to Dr. Tolman, reflects the irresponsibility and lack of realism in their attitudes toward money and possessions which played an important part in their offenses in the first place. Their attempts to get money were impulsive, unconsidered acts, stemming from monetary urges.

The largest proportion of the women's wishes fell in the category of "specific benefits for self". It is natural that before all else many of them wanted "freedom", to be "out of this jail" or *this town*, to go home, or to be granted probation.

Next to these pressing immediate desires for freedom among these women ranked the wish for home or husband. It is natural that this wish should have much higher frequency among them than among the elderly groups or the children. But it also somewhat higher than among the college women. Disturbance in conscious emotional adjustment was apparent in many, and in cases of "contributing to the delinquency of a minor" the offense itself often expressed the pressure of their need for satisfactory emotional and sexual relationships, even when they were not free to marry. The wish for a home or husband occurred with the same frequency among both the married and single women of the group.

In proportion of wishes for benefits for relatives, the women prisoners are closer to the 11-12-year-old children than to college women. General, abstract philanthropic wishes are conspicuously low among them, even the younger group of children surpassing them in this kind of social conscience. Tolman refers to the fact that Jersild notes an increase with age in wishes of a more general or inclusive nature and she therefore, concludes that, in this respect, these women are clearly regressive. No general concern for improvement in socio-economic conditions, for peace, or for equality was expressed. According to the author, "this lack of any broad social consciousness may well have played a part in their willingness to perform anti-social acts."

Wishes for moral self-improvement were much more common among them than among college women, no doubt growing out of the critical failure in ego functioning which brought them into the present difficulty.

Dr. Tolman reaches the general conclusion that the wishes of these women prisoners tend to present a picture of individuals desiring most of all to be free and out of trouble, to have happy marriages, good husbands, nice homes, babies, and to be able to cope with disturbing impulses in the future. Wishes for material possessions or for social betterment play little part in their thinking.

Samuel B. Kutash

Woodbourne, N. Y.

STUDIES OF ABNORMAL BEHAVIOR IN THE RAT
(THE PATTERN OF PUNISHMENT AND ITS
RELATION TO ABNORMAL FIXATIONS). N.
R. F. MAIER AND J. B. KLEE. *Journal of
Experimental Psychology* 32:377-398,
May 1943.

Study of the behavior of animals subjected to the influence of frustration and punishment is of value in throwing light upon the effects of these restraints in human beings. This particular article employs the Lashley Jumping Apparatus in the series of 60 rats. The apparatus is a

form in which cards are placed in right and left windows of a screen. Factors involving punishment, frustration and reward can readily be introduced in connection with this apparatus. The purpose of the experiment was to investigate the relationship between the pattern of punishment and fixations, and supplements the previous study of the authors on Frustration in Rats.*

The first group was presented with an insoluble problem inasmuch as the cards which the animals faced in the screen offered reward in a successful attempt in jumping at them through food placed behind the screen. The other alternative was punishment in jumping at the card which was locked in the screen and, therefore, the rat suffered a rebuff for its choice. In most instances it was necessary to use a blast of air or to prod the animal with a sharp instrument to secure the proper response. One card was totally white with a black circle in the center and reverse conditions were applied to the other card. In Group I the cards were indiscriminately changed so that there was no relationship between the reward of food and the color of the card itself. The responses, therefore, were developed under two conditions; namely that of frustration in the event of failure or motivation if some success were obtained in the securing of food. This experiment indicated that there were two types of response on the part of the animal—one which could be called a *position response* and the other a *discrimination response*. The former was the type response in which the animal selected either the right or left card and made the same jump repeatedly. The latter type of response was one in which the animal endeavored to make some choice between the cards. For this particular type of animal the vast majority of the responses were positional.

In Group II the rats were trained to develop a position response by being rewarded for this type of choice and punished for any other. The responses developed under conditions of frustration were less subject to modification than those developed under conditions of motivation. Those who gave fixated responses by leap-

ing continually at the same card regardless of reward or failure could have their fixations broken to best advantage by the type of training indicated for Group II. In other words, reward for success and punishment for failure are decided incentives in adaptation.

The rats in Group III were trained to develop a discrimination response by being rewarded for choosing a card with a black circle. The change in the discrimination of punishment made by shifting of the cards seems to be most conducive to the learning process. In short, this enters the field of pure conditioning and verifies animal experimentation made by Pavlov, Cannon, Watson and others of the behavioristic school. When an animal was found to have formed fixations, the fixation dominated the behavior and as has been previously indicated, it is extremely difficult to break.

Analogies in the criminal behavior of human beings can readily be made through these animal experimentations.

V. C. B.

(*) Studies of Abnormal Behavior in the Rat, III. The Development of Behavior Fixations through Frustration. N. R. F. Meier, N. M. Glaser and J. B. Klee *Journal of Experimental Psychology* 26:521-546. Abstracted in this Journal 4:172, July 1942.

STUDIES OF PERSONAL PRESSURE AND RESISTANCE. JEROME D. FRANK. *Journal of General Psychology* 30:57. 1944. II QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS.

An ingenious method was devised by this psychiatrist to measure resistance on mechanical lines. It is to be recognised how in the course of analysis there is detected this functional barrier as something formidable, capable of weakening, or as

transformed into somatic symptomatology. Thus any measure of its strength is to be welcome. This worker sets out to estimate both the *press* and urgency back of behavior and the clinical *resistances* manifesting in behavior. He even detects the repression that favors resistance. Such resistance is calculated in degrees 1-4 (no standard term was devised, as it applied only to the test situation), with 0 and 5 representing the ultimate extremes.

The press took the form of suggestion (i.e., use of transference authority with or without coercion), and presumably is capable of similar measure in degrees of something. It is difficult to standardise "application of pressure", but this apparently involved encouragement, command or physical force. All such complex mental occurrences are of course largely insusceptible of mental measure qualitatively.

The "scale" of resistance is behavioristically expressed as verbalising, gesturing, dawdling, and physical block. It also took the form of well-known psychological measures: e.g., distraction (socialisation), inversion (drag down), displacement (irrelevance), and delegation (cooperating) attempts. Such resistance is said to "rise" with increasing resistance to the natural perceptual unit (stimulus), till it breaks down, also to "spread" when the field becomes restructured in the sense of a strong need" (sic). Resistance is facilitated by emotional tension, and generalised through the (transference) battle. The unit psychic situation consisted apparently of eating crackers off a pile, but auxiliaries like cigarette smoking, hand feeding from the psychiatrist and outside discussion were also present. There is one 1931 reference to illuminate all this.

P. Lionel Goitein

Woodbourne, N. Y.

D - Social & Statistics

THE ESSENTIAL BASES OF CRIMINAL THERAPEUTICS. ROBERTO CIAFARDO. *Policia Secreta Nacional, Argentina, 191-194, August 1943.*

The author outlines a comprehensive program for the prevention, control and treatment of crime. He advocates a battery of individualized and collective approaches based upon a thorough understanding of the fundamental causes of crime and a knowledge of its various aspects. He speaks from his experience as Director of the Police Medical Board of Buenos Aires.

The paper stresses the view that crime represents the product of a constellation of complex causes originating in both the personality make-up of the delinquent and in his social environment. Emphasis is also placed on the idea that the best contribution to a community plan for the eradication and control of crime is one based upon prevention. *Prevention* is the first and most important type of criminal therapeutics.

The second type of criminal therapeutics consists in the application of treatment measures which have a twofold purpose: the *reform* of those delinquents who are amenable to social rehabilitation and the *segregation* of those criminals who are unsuitable for reform and incapable of being readjusted to society.

The third and last type of criminal therapeutics, designed to insure and make permanent the results attained by prevention and treatment, is the adoption of appropriate measures of supervision over offenders released from prisons and reformatories so as to help them make the transition back to normal community life..

Dr. Ciafardo advocates the following prophylactic or preventive measures: extension of public assistance and public welfare laws, control of immigration, widespread programs of education for young people, rehabilitation of pre-delinquents and young delinquents, institutionalization of the mentally defective and mentally ill as well as those chronically addicted to

alcohol and narcotics, and the placement in workhouses of the vagrants and habitual panhandlers.

Each of these measures is discussed in detail. It is felt by the author that *public assistance* provisions contribute to the elimination of the *economic* causes of crime by improving the material condition of the poor. The *control of immigration* serves as an effective defensive measure by society by preventing the admission into the country of known criminals or the mentally defective and mentally ill. The *social education of youth* and the rehabilitation of pre-delinquent children and adolescents serves as a prophylactic measure by preventing the conditioning and habituation of anti-social reactions in children. The *institutionalization and segregation* of the mentally ill and mentally defective the lodging of chronic alcoholics and dope addicts in establishments adequate for their treatment and custody, and the placement of vagrants and habitual beggars in workhouses where they can be taught proper habits of work and self-discipline are all considered as crime prevention measures.

Various methods of treatment and rehabilitation of criminals are presented. Dr. Ciafardo feels that for a *penitentiary* system to be effective, it must be organized on the basis of three essential elements; work, education and discipline. *Work* is important because it disciplines the will, equips the inmate vocationally to handle certain jobs so that he can more effectively compete later on in the struggle for existence, contributes effectively in the maintenance of the inmate in prison, and finally, it can make possible the reimbursement by the inmate of the material damages caused by his crime. The author feels that the last item is a fundamental principle of justice which should be strictly adhered to in all cases. The work should be of a productive nature, well-supervised and should utilize the latest and most modern techniques and standards of produc-

tion in order to be an effective form of treatment.

Education and instruction includes the acquisition of knowledge by the inmate through specially organized prison schools, books and periodicals, institutional libraries and religious instruction and services. Illiteracy alone can be a contributory cause of crime in certain cases.

The organization of *discipline* consists essentially in the provision of a suitable system of rewards for good behavior and restrictions of privileges or punishment for bad conduct.

To carry out the three prerequisites for the success of the penitentiary system, the institutional treatment of delinquents must be based on an adequate, rational, and practical procedure of *classification*. It is necessary to separate the occasional and accidental offenders from the habitual criminals and chronic recidivists. It is essential to keep apart and treat separately by different methods those who are still considered capable of rehabilitation from those who are believed to be incorrigible.

Dr. Ciafardo thus advocates seven types of correctional institutions necessary for the realization of his therapeutic plan. These have already been authorized by law and include *penal farm and colonies, industrial prisons, semi-restricted camps, prisons for adult women, reformatories and vocational institutions, special prisons for contagiously or infectionously ill offenders, and psychiatric annexes.*

After release from prison, the other type of criminal therapeutics comes into play. The released prisoners and ex-convicts must be helped to bridge the gap between institutional life and a free, normal, law-abiding existence in society. This is the final step in their rehabilitation designed to prevent failures and lapses and to readjust the former criminal to the community as he now finds it. For this, not only parole authorities are necessary but also *prisoners' aid societies* and agencies to help the prisoner morally and materially when necessary.

Samuel B. Kutash

Woodbourne, N. Y.

JUVENILE DELINQUENCY — A CHALLENGE!
The Prison World Vol. 5 Number 5,
September-October 1943.

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The entire issue of *Prison World* is a symposium of articles by leaders in the field of delinquency prevention. Mr. G. Holland Shaw, President, National Council of Juvenile Agencies opens the discussion by stating that the public has become delinquent conscious and today is more aware than ever before of the boys or girls who get into trouble. The public demands that something be done about this situation immediately. A new sense of responsibility and a growing conviction by the public that they themselves have a definite role to perform in the prevention and treatment of juvenile delinquency is an outgrowth of the war. Thus it is that the crisis of war has created a new social consciousness which, it is believed, will characterize post-war America. This new social consciousness will necessitate each professional social case worker, parole officer, and other law enforcement officers to take stock of their professional technique, favorite ideas and to check these against actual achievements. It appears logical that the public will demand collaboration between these agencies and the community in seeing to it that more communities have fewer delinquents.

In discussing the family and delinquency, Mr. Ernest W. Burgess of the University of Chicago discounts the family as a factor in delinquency. He points out that explanations of the causes of human behavior might be grouped under three main heads: one, genetic; two, psychogenic; and three, sociogenic factors. Each of these factors has a definite imprint on the relationship between the individual and the family. The author argues that studies have shown that neither genetic, nor psychogenic factors are essential causes of delinquency and therefore it would seem as though delinquency must arise from sociogenic factors. This means primarily that patterns of behavior are transmitted by communication from person to person. If the family is an essential factor in causing crime, it must therefore take an active part in transmitting criminal patterns of behavior.

ior. This however has been proven false. Parents do not educate children in crime. Children become delinquent from companionship on the street. It must therefore be assumed that the family can only be a contributing factor in delinquency inasmuch as lack of parental guidance and supervision result in failure to counteract unfavorable outside influences on the child.

The church, says Right Reverend Monseigneur *John O'Grady*, Secretary, National Conferences Catholic Charities, is trying to meet the problem of juvenile delinquency fairly and squarely. Organized social service programs are now a part of the religious activities of most progressive churches. The clergy and laity are cooperating together on a basis and inspiration in the light of Christian principles and of diverse human experiences. Recognizing the need for more church interest, a constant attempt is being made to create such interest and church participation and community program.

Writing on what the schools can do, *Esther Lloyd-Jones*, Professor of Education in charge of the Guidance Laboratory, Teachers College, Columbia University emphatically states that the schools are the most logical agencies to take the leadership role in reducing juvenile delinquency. Citing that the schools have for the most part control of eight hours of the child's day, the author recommends the establishment of a specially trained individual to be known as the Vice Principal in Charge of Guidance. Such person would be charged with the responsibility of accomplishing a thorough program of child study, including systematic medical examination, standardized psychological examination and the coordination between home and school. Such a program would call for periodic conferences with teachers and instructors.

There is a definite relationship between the number of playgrounds in a densely populated area and the rate of delinquency in that area. *Mr. Eduard C. Lindeman*, Professor of Social Philosophy, New York School of Social Work, Columbia University points out that although recreation will not bring an end to juvenile delinquency, delinquent behavior does take place when young people are not occupied

with necessary tasks or enjoying recreation. Only time and study will reveal the need for recreation in any particular area and it is therefore necessary for actual facts to be secured by trained individuals. Public education in the need for recreational facilities must then be undertaken and the citizens of the community be apprised of what is necessary to provide an adequate recreational program for youth. It must be shown that recreation adapted to the requirements of the locality will provide an outlet for normal energies which might otherwise be expended in anti-social activities. It must be shown to the citizens that the child will learn that recreation becomes the substitute for all of the negative conditions out of which delinquency arises.

Recognizing that juvenile delinquency is a medical as well as a social and economic problem, *Thomas Parran*, M. D., Surgeon General, U. S. Public Health Service advocates the increasing use of psychotherapy as a means of social control. Holding that behavior problems usually arise from mental disorders in youth, Dr. Parran suggests the greater use of psychologists and psychiatrists in combating this problem. These specialists should be attached to the school, local health departments etc.

Not forgetting the family doctor, it is recognized that physical defects may cause children to behave in an unaccepted manner. Physical ill health frequently creates feelings of humiliation and inferiority and it is up to the family doctor to diagnose these difficulties and correct them if possible. The Child Guidance Clinic of which the physician is a part is definitely proving its worth in ministering to the child's physical health and unraveling his emotional problems.

Deputy Inspector *William M. Kent* of the New York City Police Department writes how New York City is meeting the problem of juvenile delinquency. He relates that the Police Department do not arrest boys and girls under the age of twenty-one but file special forms relative to youth misbehavior so that the child is not stigmatized by being brought into the police station. Special patrolmen and policewomen who are trained in social work

conduct investigations of complaints and are in many instances able to clear up such complaints through home contacts.

The work of the police Athletic League is well known to those interested in the prevention of delinquency in New York City. Many special events are conducted by this League consisting of field days, swimming meets, boat trips, and tennis and baseball games. These constructive programs have been effective antidotes for delinquent behavior. The P. A. L. has definitely established the new and better relationship between youth and the police department.

The juvenile institutions can be a potent corrective agent in the problem of juvenile delinquency. So states Mr. E. L. Johnstone, Superintendent of the State Colony, Woodbine, New Jersey. Within the institution definite studies can be made relating to a child's problems. Intensive clinical diagnosis is possible and because of the general improvement of social conditions, improvements in education, recreation and religious opportunity the juvenile institution is a definite factor in restoring the offender to the community as a useful member. The Institution becomes the research center or the laboratory of human conduct. Knowledge and information thus secured serves as a guide to the better understanding of the problems of delinquency to the many other agencies in the field. Thus it is within the power of the juvenile institutions to be one of the most potent forces in combating antisocial behavior among our youth.

A concluding article on Britain's Wartime Experiences by Herman K. Spector reveals how Great Britain promoted a participation on the part of young people in the war effort itself, performing such work as digging of trenches, filling of sand bags, and salvaging activities, youth came to realize their responsibility and thus began developing qualities of organization and leadership. With the establishment of this program, delinquent acts by both boys and girls dropped in 1942 over the previous war years.

William Rose

Woodbourne, N. Y.

A COMPARISON OF DELINQUENT AND NON-DELINQUENT BOYS WITH RESPECT TO CERTAIN ATTITUDES. WARREN C. MIDDLETON AND PAUL J. FAY. *Journal of Social Psychology*, 18:155-158. August 1943.

This investigation makes a comparative study of attitudes expressed by a group of institutionalized delinquent boys and a group of non-delinquent high-school boys. Both groups are equated in age, intelligence and educational status.

The data are derived from the administration to both groups of four attitude scales edited by Thurstone. The scales used are: *Attitude toward Patriotism*, Form B (Thiele and Thurstone); *Attitude toward the Constitution of the United States*, Form B (Rosander and Thurstone); *Attitude toward the Germans*, Form A, (Peterson).

These were administered to 139 boys in the Indiana Boys School, Plainfield, and to seventy-five boys in the Greencastle, Indiana High School. All subjects in both institutions were in the eighth, ninth, or tenth grades. In order to secure pertinent data about them, a twenty-two-item personal data sheet was answered by each pupil. Stanford-Binet I. Q.'s were obtained from the clinical records of the Indiana Boys School, together with other valuable data and a record of the court charge under which each delinquent had been committed to the institution. Stanford-Binet I. Q.'s and *Terman Group Test of Mental Ability* scores were available for all the high school pupils. The delinquent boys were found to have a mean I. Q. of about six points lower than the non-delinquents.

Seventy-eight per cent of the delinquents' fathers are living, as against ninety-three per cent of the non-delinquents' fathers. Eighty-three per cent of the delinquents' mothers are living, as compared with ninety per cent of the non-delinquents' mothers. In the case of the institutionalized group, twenty-two per cent of their parents are divorced, as against four per cent of the non-delinquents' parents. Over twenty-four per cent of the delinquents' parents are separated, though not divorced, while only slightly more than four per cent of the high school subjects' parents are not living together.

The authors present medians, means, and standard deviations of the scores of the two groups of boys on the four attitude scales. The differences between the medians, and the reliability of these differences are also indicated.

A fairly reliable difference is found on the patriotism scale in favor of the delinquents. On the war scale the difference in favor of the delinquents is not very reliable statistically. The delinquents show a slightly more favorable attitude toward the constitution but the obtained difference

is not statistically certain. There is no significant difference found between the groups with respect to their attitude toward the Germans.

The authors conclude that the trend in all four scales is the same. The attitudes of the delinquents reveal an element of consistency. They are more favorable toward patriotism, the constitution and war, and less favorable toward the Germans, than are the non-delinquents.

Samuel B. Kutash

Woodbourne, N. Y.

E-Medicine & Biology

PSYCHOSEXUALITY AND SCHIZOPHRENIA—SOME
ENDOCRINE CONSIDERATIONS. R. G. HOS-
KINS *Psychosomatic Medicine* 5:3-9 Jan.
1943.

The avenue of approach to the study of the effect of sexual hormones upon aberrations of the mind in general and to schizophrenia in particular may be made in one of two ways or combinations of either; namely, a study of the developmental aspects, that is to say, to determine whether or not there has been a quantitative or qualitative alteration in the normal endosecretory status; the investigation of the possibility of a failure of the organism to respond to hormones which may be secreted normally. A third possibility which is not concerned primarily with hormone secretions is the study as to the possibility that the patient may have become abnormal mentally through perverted psychodynamics. This, of course, is primarily the approach of the psychoanalytic school.

Of these three methods the author favors the second and devotes a good deal of his discussion to proving that the first is of little weight in view of evidence available. He illustrates the idea of the responsibility of the organism by calling attention to the phenomenon of a glass or goblet going into a state of fragmentation when perfectly attuned to a given musical note. Another common illustration is that the radio receiver will give forth a program

when it is attuned to the exact wave length at which the program is being sent out. The author believes that the whole organism, therefore, must be attuned to the effective response of hormones, possibly through some catalytic process.

The various methods whereby ineffective sexual hormone function may occur in the organism other than that of lack of the responsivity just mentioned may be enumerated as follows: lack of proper balance between the androgenic and estrogenic hormones; chemical modification of the form of hormone either at the time of its secretion or physiological alteration by lack of some controlling enzyme after secretion; abnormality in the amount or balance of the various hormones. This may be either a hypersecretion or a hyposecretion or an imbalance in the relative amounts of a group of hormonal glands reacting as a unit: finally, the possibility must be considered that the body produces different androgens, one or more of which principally effect somatic and the other instinctual behavior.

There is some evidence to support each of the above possibilities as a factor in causing maladjustment of the life of the individual but nothing has been adduced thus far to make any claim conclusive. The theory most generally held, of course, is that hyper and hypo secretions with variability in the relative amounts of the hormonal glands acting as a unit is at

the basis of most disturbances. There are many well-known clinical evidences of this particularly with respect to the thyroid and adrenal glands but these for the most part seem to operate physiologically rather than psycho-sexually. From ancient times it has been generally recognized that castration of the male results in feminization and more recently it has been shown that in hypogonadal types the administration of estrogens and androgens to the lower animals has been effective in correcting these sexual deficiencies. A "chemical conditioning" is therefore indicated. Drawing analogies from these animal experimentations, however, lacks conclusiveness when applied to humans because we are unable to know the meaning of the induced experiences to the animals themselves. For example, in the field of physiology one may induce a rage in an animal but there is no evidence that the animal is actually experiencing emotional rage as the human being knows it. Clinical psychologists therefore have spoken of such phenomena as "sham rage". Other apparent affective displays in animals therefore are subject to the same objection.

Sex hormone imbalance produces freaks such as human giants and bearded ladies but the incidence of schizophrenia and other mental disorders is relatively low in these cases. The question arises as to whether or not schizophrenia represents merely a special case of chronic sex hormone deficiency even making allowances for the "resonance" or "responsivity" theory of the author. There are certain

indications that something is constitutionally wrong with the psychosexual development in schizophrenia. Many case studies have indicated that schizoid individuals have less premarital affairs than the normal individual and these when engaged in are seldom successful. The marriage rate is below normal and again satisfactory marital adjustment is seldom attained. A large percentage of schizoids show homosexual tendencies often in overt or thinly-veiled form. The individuals are subject to "homosexual panics." This is most frequently expressed in a diffused rather than in a stormy reaction. It appears as vague sexual perturbations especially among females. There are vague longings and desires that fail to come to fruition and in general a dissatisfied affect. In the male schizoid the individual is more likely to show aggressive trends and auto-erotism. In later life such individuals may arrive at the state of an utterly sexless existence.

In conclusion, many investigators would take issue with the author's belief that psychoses from a general point of view represent a "breakdown of the personality structure due to inability to meet the demands of sexual adulthood with the psychodynamic resources of immaturity". While it is generally recognized that sexual maladjustments are almost universal in these cases and that many show emotional immaturity, it is still debatable as to whether or not mental breakdowns can be put on the basis of failure to attain sexual adulthood.

V. C. B.

F - Medico-Legal

PSYCHIATRY, LEGAL RESPONSIBILITY AND DELINQUENCY. LUIS JAIME SANCHEZ. *Revista de Medicina Legal de Colombia*, 5:66-88. January-May 1943.

The author sets out to explain the role of the psychiatrist and of psychiatry in the field of penology in order to offset the prevalent erroneous views concerning the usefulness and functions of the psychiatric services in courts and penal institutions.

He is of the opinion that psychiatry undoubtedly represents one of the most notable and useful recent adjuncts to positive penal science.

Since most laymen understand that the psychiatrist is primarily an individual specially trained in the diagnosis and treatment of mental disorders, they do not comprehend exactly where he fits into the prison field. Dr. Sanchez makes it clear that when it is understood by the public that

the delinquent is fundamentally a person who is systematically subject to more or less clear-cut mental deviations, the participation of the psychiatrist in the treatment of criminals is more than justified. The author amends both points of view and shows that we cannot view all crimes as psychic disorders nor can we state that no crimes should be studied psychiatrically. He feels that the essential purpose of the psychiatrist is to clearly outline those anti-social manifestations susceptible of being explained by psychiatric study and to allocate to other disciplines and their specialists those crimes which do not fall within his sphere.

Caution is advised on the part of the psychiatric specialist even when he is studying a psychically determined crime because "nothing is so easy as to attribute serious anti-social acts to abnormal mental conditions of the perpetrator and thus declaring him irresponsible from the legal point of view". It is comparatively simple for the psychiatric expert to theatrically hide behind the embellishments of an "irrefutable" diagnosis because there is usually no one to question the testimony of an expert and frequently a guilty offender is absolved. The question of legal responsibility is often confused by the erroneous idea that criminal acts of the insane never involve premeditation and are always impulsive and spontaneous. We cannot get away from the fact that the psychiatrist is however, the only one equipped by training and experience to study the anti-social acts of the insane and to determine the degree of mental aberration and pathology and to what extent premeditation and reason entered into the crime. Legal responsibility is therefore something for the psychiatrist to determine. The mere fact that a person is clearly insane does not mean that he is necessarily not legally responsible; he may or may not be, depending upon the exact psychiatric findings of the psychiatric expert.

The specific types of mental illnesses that have been found to be most frequently associated with anti-social conduct are of varied and diverse etiology. Some, such as epilepsy produce a high percentage of delinquency in any stage of the illness. Others, such as the manic-depressive psy-

choses are criminogenic only at a particular phase of the illness. Still other mental illnesses such as schizophrenia produce an anti-social act at irregular intervals and at an unpredictable stage of the disease. Dr. Sanchez therefore believes that there does not exist a specific type of crime corresponding to a particular type of mental illness except perhaps in the epileptic states in which it is well recognized that homicidal assaults and impulsive conduct are direct concomitants of the illness. The very often stated contention that certain forms of psychic disturbance determine and result in certain forms of crime is not adequately substantiated. The exceptions are too many and do not confirm the rule. It is true that melancholics have a tendency toward suicide, the hallucinated towards homicide, and the schizophrenics toward various types of sexual crimes, but this does not preclude their committing other crimes or not committing the designated type of crime. The author agrees with Regis that, "Humanity, unfortunately does not automatically fall into two psychological categories: the completely responsible or the fully irresponsible. Between these two extremes, there is a vast zone of individuals with varying degrees of responsibility".

Peculiarly enough, the psychiatrist, who is most frequently concerned with diagnosis in all fields in which he functions, is rarely called upon to perform this function in an expert case. He is usually asked whether the person is insane or not and what mental illness he is suffering from and what his condition was at the time and precise moment of the crime but not to determine the degree of legal responsibility. The accused may have been insane at the time of the crime and may still be suffering from a psychosis and still be legally responsible because he premeditated, and used logic and reason to carry out his crime. Patients capable of carrying on a normal existence which is interrupted by the breaking out of a latent illness causing a blind unpremeditated act may be irresponsible whereas other patients suffering from manic-depressive psychosis may in a period of lucidity commit a premeditated act.

The author proposes that legal res-

possibility should be determined on the basis of the delinquent's dangerousness to society and defines the "dangerous state" according to the view of Solano in her excellent monograph of that title. The psychiatrist when he testifies as an expert in evaluating the mental condition of a subject must integrate the endocrinological, biological, and psychological findings and determine the individual's dangerousness to society. When the mental condition of the individual has no relation to his crime and that crime would have occurred regardless of the subject's mental aberration, the psychiatrist should leave the disposition of the case to the sociologist, anthropologist, criminologist or other specialist. If the crime is a direct outcome of the person's mental state it is a case for the psychiatrist both in determining what to do with the offender and in instituting and carrying out the therapy and rehabilitation.

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ELECTROENCEPHALOGRAPHY IN MEDICO-LEGAL PROBLEMS. J. C. M. MATHESON—J. D. N. HILL. *The Medico-Legal and Criminological Review* London 11:173-184, October-December 1943.

The paper is divided into three sections, the first portion being devoted to discussion by Dr. Matheson on the subject of the diagnosis of Epilepsy, the second portion being given over to Dr. Hill and his concise statements on the use of the electroencephalogram, and finally discussion of the two papers by various members of the Society.

The general trend of Dr. Matheson's remarks on the diagnosis of Epilepsy indicates that it is an exceedingly difficult malady to evaluate. The physician usually does not have the opportunity of witnessing the patient in an attack and often has to rely upon subjective symptoms or statements of the untrained relatives and observers as to symptomatology. The tendency of expert witnesses has been to over-evaluate Epilepsy as a cause of crime. Studies made by W. Norwood East in Brixton Prison over a 5-year period from

1936 to 1941 indicate that there is an exceedingly low incidence of Epilepsy in the population, the whole including genuine and doubtful cases barely exceeding 1%. W. C. Sullivan found the same incidence of Epilepsy among insane homicides as in the non-criminal insane.

The irritability and impulsive temperament of the Epileptic suggest that the patient is quite likely to commit crimes of violence. He is subject to depression at times which offhand would suggest that he might be a frequent suicide. As a matter of fact, statistics do not bear out these contentions. Male genuine epileptics show a marked preponderance to offenses against property rather than person. Female genuine epileptics show a tendency to offenses against property rather than persons but the incidence of vagrancy which includes drunkenness and prostitution, is much greater in the case of the female than in the male. Age level has no particular significance.

Dr. Hill gives a most excellent general outline of the use of the electroencephalograph. His brief historical sketch from the year 1875 in which the Englishman Caton first described electrical activities in the brains of rabbits to date is adequate. The work of Berger in 1902 and his first recorded brain rhythms in 1924, with a later work by Adrian and Matthews combined with the localization of tumors by Walter Grey in 1936, provides the background for the present work in this field.

The brain waves which are very slow and erratic at birth with gradual increase in frequency and stability throughout childhood reach their adult characteristics at puberty. For these reasons, the interpretations of brain waves of children must be undertaken with the greatest of caution. These patterns are as definitive for the particular individual as is the color of his eyes or the design of his fingerprints. Dr. Hill remarks on this subject, "The basic quality of the electroencephalogram—its frequency, regularity, and the dominance and distribution of its frequencies over the brain are most certainly constitutional characteristics of the individual determined by his genetic equipment." The normal electroencephalogram shows the same

path over each hemisphere of the brain, has a frequency of 8 to 13 waves per second and tends to be blocked by arousal stimuli such as opening of the eyes. If the frequency of the waves falls below 8 per second or goes above 14 per second, pathology probably is present. Increased alkalinity of the blood due to hyperventilation should not alter the normal pattern. In certain pathological conditions, however, hyperventilation is a method of bringing out irregularities.

The grouping of fast and slow waves so characteristic of Epilepsy, the spike-and-wave complex of petit mal type, is also diagnostic of that condition. Dr. Hill is more inclined to look upon the constitutional significance of abnormal brain patterns than the assignment to that pattern of any specific disorder. Thus he would state that constitutional psychopaths regularly show a disturbance in brain pattern beyond normal limitations. He warns against the use of the electroencephalogram as a sole diagnostic method of evaluating this disease.

Relative to the wider aspect of cerebral dysrhythmia 12% of the population apparently has an abnormal E. E. G. Many of the most valued members of society have these abnormal patterns. They are not entirely disabling but they tend to lead to aggressiveness, impulsive temper, and on some occasions motiveless impulses and crimes of violence.

A discussion of these two topics by other members of the society lead to Dr.

Norwood East's comments that Epilepsy as a murder defense is now out of fashion. The fad for the moment is to focus attention on schizoid personalities. Evidently Dr. East is at some impatience with these fashions of the day. He likewise states that the E. E. G. cannot alone determine responsibility.

H. A. Grierson suggests that the electroencephalogram would be of use in war cases where the question of pension was a factor. The evaluation of culpability would be difficult to determine by this source.

Letitia Fairfield took exception to the general pessimistic attitude of the doctors concerning the use of the E. E. G. as a diagnostic implement. She stated that one must be open-minded to the development of every possible avenue of approach to these difficult subjects of Epilepsy, responsibility, psychopathy, etc.

The President of the Medico-Legal Society gave an excellent summing-up of the legal questions involved. He admitted that lawyers, as a group, were inclined to be very conservative and would not admit evidence which was not such as to lead to certainty. His conclusions are well worth quoting, "The object of a trial was to come to a definite conclusion on fact, and that within a reasonable time and at a reasonable expense, and if a method was inconclusive, then the tendency of the court was to say that it was not of very much value".

V. C. B.

Clinical Reports

REHABILITATION CENTER OF THE SIXTH SERVICE COMMAND, FORT SHERIDAN, ILLINOIS, Annual Report 1943.

Cases studied and diagnoses returned show many causes for emotional instability among the uniformed inmates of this Rehabilitation Center, chief among them being inability to emancipate themselves from the home environment.

Chief among the causes of conflict with the military law is absence without

leave caused generally by unstable home conditions. Secondly, the soldier who is unable to adjust himself to fit the situation attempts to satisfy some personal need or desire and finds gratification in deviation to behavior offensive to military life.

Contrary to the procedures of World War I, when no attempt was made to rehabilitate the erring soldier, Rehabilitation Centers have been instituted at many points. There has come a realization that military offenses are caused by some men-

tal or physical instability and that the vast majority of these cases are curable. Therefore, these cases are studied and, whenever possible, returned to full status in military service. Through these centers hundreds of men from the "Lost Battalion", are reclaimed and found to make excellent military material.

Case histories, reports of company commanders and letters direct from restorees all tend to prove the immeasurable value of the present rehabilitative program of the army in establishing rehabilitation centers to inject new life and hope into an otherwise discouraged, dissatisfied sycophant.

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REPORT OF THE MAYOR'S COMMITTEE FOR
THE STUDY OF SEX OFFENSES. CITY OF
NEW YORK, 1944.

This report is the result of a study made of all sex crimes committed in New York City for the ten year period 1930 to 1939. The data are derived from information received through reports of the New York City Police Department, City Correction Department, and from the presentence investigations of the Probation Department in the Court of General Sessions, county courts, and the Court of Special Sessions of the City of New York. Although it is recognized that many sex offenses are not brought to light, the large number of cases studied by this committee may be accepted as authentic and its conclusions based on factual information. In preparing the report, the committee divided it into eight divisions, each dealing with a specific phase of the problem.

As an initial step, the laws relating to sex crimes were exhaustively studied. It was found that a great disparity existed in the laws relating to sexual misbehavior and that each particular crime has been legally defined as if it were an independent unit and unrelated to other sex offenses. Many gaps and inconsistencies occur, which seems to indicate that existing laws fail to present a suitable legal scheme for

the control of sex offenses. For example, carnal abuse of a child is a misdemeanor if committed on a child over ten, while if committed on a child under ten the same offense is a felony. Likewise, the legal definition of statutory rape does not differentiate between ages of victims or aggressors but sets a blanket ruling that all sex relations involving individuals under eighteen years of age is statutory rape regardless of whether or not consent was given or force used. Further inconsistencies in the law are pointed out regarding indecent exposure and incest. In the case of incest, the law leaves it up to the District Attorney to decide if he wishes to prosecute an incestuous marriage as a felony or misdemeanor, although the elements of the crime are the same. Because of these and other findings, the committee recommends that the whole system of laws relating to sexual behavior be revised.

In discussing the extent of sex crimes in New York City, the committee recognizes that many of the sex offenses committed are not reported to the police by the injured parties. Likewise, in cases such as statutory rape, the victim is often acquiescent, and only in the event of pregnancy or venereal disease does the crime come to light. Thus with these limitations the following results may be erroneous. In 1939 sex crimes represented only 4% of all serious crimes against the person and against property. The average number of cases of rape increased from 630 in 1934 to 731 in 1939, or a total of 6,854 cases in the ten-year period covered in this report. It was also found that the number of sex offenses per county tends to follow population distribution more closely than the commission of other types of crime, which seems to indicate that it is more of a neighborhood or community problem than other types of offenses.

The report further states that there is a wide variance between the crime for which a sex offender is indicted and the crime for which he is actually convicted. Out of 710 records examined, only 22% were convicted of the crime for which they were indicted. It is pointed out that most defendants accused of sex crimes are allowed to plead guilty to a lesser offense

than charged. Trials are rare, and only 13% of the convictions for sex offenses during the years 1930 to 1939 were obtained by standing trial. In three out of four cases during this same period a defendant who pleaded guilty was permitted to plead guilty to a misdemeanor. It can easily be seen that in this procedure the offender is not likely to receive long incarceration even if he is abnormal and in definite need of institutional treatment. The committee recommends that before a plea of guilty be accepted in a sex felony case, a pre-pleading investigation may be submitted and examined by the judge as an aid to determining whether or not a plea of guilty to a lesser crime should be accepted.

The committee also studied the question of the disposition of impairing morals cases in the Court of Special Sessions. It was found that in impairing cases, which is a misdemeanor, 52% of the defendants were discharged or found not guilty. The defendants seldom plead guilty and usually deny their guilt. As a result, 2208 trials were conducted for this offense between 1930 and 1939. A wide variety of sex misconduct is covered by this statute. In indecent exposure cases the convictions amounted to 71% of the cases, primarily because of the age of the witnesses. It is concluded that many of the so-called impairing charges could be considered felonies, but because of the laws of evidence could not be presented as such.

Actual sentences were imposed on 3,295 sex offenders (felonies) during the period of 1930 to 1939. 722, or 22% were sentenced to the New York City Penitentiary; 157, or 5% to the New York City Reformatory; 366, or 11% to the workhouse; 633, or 19% to State prison; 121, or 4% to Elmira Reformatory; and 890, or 27% to a term of probation. In only 67 cases, or 2%, were the individuals involved considered mentally deficient enough to be sent to an institution for defective delinquents. It is evident by the report that the younger the victim the more severe the sentence, and likewise the younger the offender the more likely the court will be lenient and try rehabilitative devices such as suspended

sentence and probation. Only 12% of offenders whose victims were under twelve years of age were placed on probation against 42% whose victims were over twelve years of age. Of the offenders between sixteen and twenty years of age, 53% were placed on probation, as compared with 10% of offenders between the ages of 40 and 50.

A factual picture is given of the sexual offender in the light of statistical findings. He is less than 30 years of age, white, native born, and a resident of New York City. Economically he is in the low income group, employed at unskilled labor, and is usually unmarried, literate, and has had some elementary education. Sexual information is of a low nature and usually derived from knowledge received from companions in the street. The home background represents social disorder and lack of parental supervision. He presents no set type, physically or mentally. He may and usually does present all the earmarks of personal infirmity and inadequacy. Race is relatively unimportant, and the sex is almost exclusively male. Characteristically, the sex offender blames his conduct upon others, principally the victim.

Contrary to popular belief, the sex offender is a first offender for this type of offense. Six out of every ten had no previous criminal records. Only 23% of those convicted of previous offenses had been convicted of sex offenses. Significantly enough, those convicted of sodomy and statutory rape showed the highest percentage of youth, which leads to the conclusion that such offenses may be merely transitory episodes of life.

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ANNUAL REPORT OF THE ILLINOIS SOCIETY
FOR MENTAL HYGIENE. *Mental Health*
Bulletin 22:3-8 March-April 1944.

The Society has carried out, to the extent of its financial strength, a seven-point program devoted to the war effort. In their program they have attempted to in-

dicating the value, to the armed forces, of extension of an effective method of selecting men who are mentally, as well as physically, fit for the armed services; to provide for rehabilitation of men rejected because of mental defects; to continue a mental health program for all, especially those discharged from the armed forces because of mental disorders. The Society has gone so far as to foster state legislation to provide financial support for a program to plan for the provision of professional assistance and assistance for rejectees and discharges.

The Mental Health Act was considered one of the greatest achievements. It has served to liberalize, humanize and modernize admission procedures to state mental hospitals. Many Mental Hygiene Clinics have had to curtail operations because of financial difficulties and the dearth of competent psychiatrists and psychiatric social workers. Educational services were extended to the utmost. The handbook entitled "Psychiatric Facilities in Illinois" was so much in demand that it was necessary to publish another edition. Other educational services included lectures on Mental Hygiene, a very closely selected library free to members, and a bi-monthly "Mental Health Bulletin". This Society is apparently attempting to meet the mental hygiene and psychiatric needs of both civilian and armed forces but is greatly handicapped by lack of financial support.

G. Allison Worden

Woodbourne, N. Y.

REPORT FOR THE WAR PRODUCTION BOARD
ON THE PENAL AND CORRECTIONAL SYSTEM
OF THE STATE OF PENNSYLVANIA. *The
Prison Journal* 24:339-419 April 1944.

This is a study of defects of the Pennsylvania Penal system and includes suggested remedies for each case cited. Due to its dependency on the Department of Public Welfare, the Pennsylvania Department of Correction has been singularly ineffective. It has had twelve commissioners since 1921, each with his own ideas

and subsequent changes in policy. This has been the cause of many projects being started at great cost to the state, and abandoned before completion. This would have been avoided had there been a strong, independent Department of Correction with full authority over all penal and correctional affairs of the state and would permit a program of long range planning in penal affairs.

The Muehlbronner Act of 1897 forbade more than twenty per cent of the inmates to work but in 1915 they were permitted to manufacture only materials to be used by the state institutions. This act was defective in that it did not compel the institutions to buy and use these institution made goods. The State Use Prison Industry can never attain any healthy development without a compulsory state law to make it mandatory for the Department of Property and Supply to buy from the prisons all needed materials available through this service. A second remedy could be found in the repeal of federal laws forbidding the transportation of prison made goods in interstate commerce. To increase inmate interest and participation, a fair wage should be paid for prison industry. Provisions could be made to deduct a suitable amount for maintenance and still pay the inmate enough to maintain his interest. Only two of the state institutions have developed any of the many available agricultural opportunities although there is plenty of good land at all of the institutions. There is no system by which inmates are classified at present although complete individualization of treatment is the ultimate goal of rehabilitative discipline. There are good classification and treatment clinics in several of the institutions, but nothing can be done until the state wide goal is reached. Suggested remedies include, the establishment of an independent Department of Correction, two diagnostic reception institutions with power of direct placement, and classification clinics in each institution having responsibility for rehabilitative treatment of in-

mates. All institutions are well equipped except the two oldest institutions, Eastern Penitentiary and Western Penitentiary, both of which should be abandoned and the inmates transferred to new and better quarters. The parole system is quite similar to that of New York State in that a judge must impose a maximum and a minimum sentence. The Parole Act of 1941 is regarded one of the best in the country. It provided for a Parole Board of five members appointed by the governor. All parole personnel were to be chosen through civil service procedure. Emasculation of this

highly successful system was started in 1943 by the legislative elimination of three of its most important provisions.

The Board of Pardons is unable, through inexperience and lack of time, to examine thoroughly all of the petitions for commutation for induction purposes. Legislative provisions, however, might be made whereby automatic commutation of the sentences, of qualified men, who express willingness to enter the army, could be realized.

G. Allison Worden

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Book Reviews

THE ETIOLOGY OF DELINQUENT AND CRIMINAL BEHAVIOR BY WALTER C. RECKLESS. Bulletin 50, 1943. New York Special Science Research Council, pp. 169. Price \$1.25.

The primary purpose of this monograph by Doctor Reckless is to critically review the progress of research in the field of delinquent and criminal behavior, noting particularly research trends and promising leads as well as locating inadequacies and deficiencies in research organization. For this reason contributions dealing with treatment and prevention are not covered in this report unless they have a very definite etiological bearing.

Doctor Reckless presents an excellent summary of the studies and research work that has been carried on in the search for causes of delinquent and criminal behavior in the constitution of the individual. Incorporated in this summary is the factor of heredity, sub-normal intelligence, mental abnormality, endocrine determination, and the body build and physical type. The author's comments upon the lack of data supporting the contentions of many psychoanalysts who explain criminal behavior as being based on an unconscious motive. Hence, psychoneurosis, frustration, aggression etc. undoubtedly do have a definite bearing on criminal behavior, but, it is pointed out, sufficient supporting information is not yet available to properly evaluate its importance.

Situational factors which may or may not have a definite bearing on delinquent behavior are also carefully reviewed by Dr Reckless. But here again it is pointed out that no definite conclusion can be drawn since there are many gaps in the study of sociologists. The failure of situationalists to eliminate the operation of constitutional factors in their studies of offenders precludes the assumption that the etiology of criminal behavior is exclusively or primarily sociological.

While the archives of criminology are enormous as the result of quantities of research, most studies have been scattered and disconnected, and it has been only recently that efforts have been made toward systematic research in criminology.

Realizing the necessity of such coordination of effort, the author suggests definite approaches which have a unified theoretical basis and are conducive to systematic research. It is these approaches, namely, the study of behavior processes, the study of behavior trait differences, the study of criminal risk, and the study of response to treatment which may lead criminological research out of chaos and result in unified planning. Already attempts have been made by Southerland, Sellin, and others.

A chapter entitled "Research Leads," provides stimulating and challenging suggestions toward further research in the field of the etiology of crime. A few of these suggested studies include the study of the criminality of the handicapped segment of the population, particularly blind and crippled offenders, studies of political offenders, draft dodgers, and saboteurs, and the study of the adjustment of the first immigrants, especially the refugees from Europe.

An appendix comprising short, informative articles under the headings of "Research Resources and Opportunities," "Records and Statistics on Crime and Criminals," "Problems and Projects," and the author's recommendations, complete the monograph. Under "Recommendations" Doctor Reckless emphasizes the necessity in America for a small compact academy for research in delinquent and criminal behavior, and also the desirability of well planned, long time, adequately financed studies in the field of criminology. The need for repeat studies to check and validate findings is also recognized.

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THE BOY SEX OFFENDER AND HIS LATER CAREER. LEWIS J. DOSHAY. (Foreword by GEORGE W. HENRY) New York; Grune and Stratton, Inc. 1943, pp. 248, Price, \$3.50.

The pattern of careful, precise, statistical and sociological investigations of the histories, personalities, family relationships,

community backgrounds and inherent traits of juvenile delinquents, including the tracing of their later adult careers, set by the Gluecks in their works such as *Juvenile Delinquents Grown Up* (1940) and previously by Healy and Bronner in their book, *New Light on Juvenile Delinquency* (1936), finds a worthy successor in this compact little volume by Dr. Lewis Doshay. The research study on which the book is based, while it has some flaws in technique and methodology, does represent an important contribution to a hitherto neglected subject, the significance of *early sex offenses* among males in relation to later life behavior. The exposition is practical rather than theoretical, is rooted in empirical findings adequately validated on the whole, and minutely analyzed by one who has had ten years of valuable experience in the process of examining and treating thousands of juvenile offenders as psychiatrist in the Children's Court Clinics of New York City. Certain phases of juvenile sex delinquency are nicely illuminated for us by this investigation and thus, it must be considered an original attack on many problems not yet dealt with in the literature. Especially enlightening is the *intensive* comparison of traits among the two juvenile sex offender groups studied in relation to the adult outcomes, the rather *large sampling* of sexual cases employed, and the well written, integrated full-life case history reports. As a pioneering and exploratory attempt it deserves wide recognition, even though it leaves many questions unanswered because of the limitations of the data.

For detailed review, the study must be considered from the points of view of its purposes and scope, its significance, the procedure it uses in collection and organization of data, and its results and findings. Two essential types of juvenile sex offenders, a *primary* group of 108 cases representing *true sex offenders* whose members had no known involvement in any offensive behavior other than sexual, and a *mixed* group of 148 juvenile sex offenders aggregating boys of the *general delinquent* type who were definitely known to have engaged in a mixed set of offenses, such as stealing, burglary, truancy, desertion of home, etc., were compared

in background, personality and behavior in relation to success or failure in later years. The total sampling of 256 cases represents the largest aggregate of boy sex offenders studied to date by any investigator not excepting the Gluecks or Healy and Bronner. The sex offenses among the cases studied include a wide variety of violations such as lewdness, excessive masturbation, voyeurism, exhibitionism, fornication, assault, incest, perversions with other juveniles or adults, etc. They reached the Children's Courts through a large variety of public and private agencies. It is evident that in purpose, this study is unparalleled.

The scope of the research involves all the sex offenders that had been studied and treated at the New York Children's Court clinics between June 1928 and June 1934 with the exception of those who were diagnosed as feeble-minded (I. Q. below 70 on the Stanford-Binet scale). At the time of the original clinic study, the boys ranged in age from 7 to 16 years, but at the time of the adult follow-up they were anywhere from 16 to 28 years with a *minimum interval of six years* since the child's last treatment at the clinic. Since, according to the *Seventh Annual Report* of the Commissioner of Correction, State of New York, (1936) only about half of the male adult violators were within the range of 16 to 26 years, the question arises whether the study *goes far enough* into adult life to justify conclusions as to whether a juvenile later repeated his offenses or not. When we consider that many adult sex offenses are committed by men after the age of 30 and as late as the age of 65 and older, we have hit upon a major flaw in the research because the study stops at age 28 and those who were "successes" at that age may later in life become "failures". This reviewer would not expect Dr. Doshay to wait until all of his cases reached 65 or older before drawing conclusions from his fine study but must take this limitation into consideration in evaluating the results.

The procedures used in collection and organization of the juvenile and case history data reflect much painstaking care and research acumen on the part of the author. Detailed digests of each of the

256 case records were entered on specially constructed coded forms and summary sheets after careful review of many thousands of records were made to ferret out the sexual cases which constituted less than 5% of the total male delinquents. However, the procedures employed in tracing the later life behavior of the 256 cases, while fairly adequate, are open to two criticisms. The cases were classified as *adult sexual failures* in the outcomes, when there was proved evidence of a return to sexual offenses in adult life and as *adult general failures* when general crimes were committed in adult life. Of course, here we must remember that adult behavior after the age of 28 years was not checked. All cases who were not found to have committed adult crime were listed as *adult successes*. The two criticisms which this reviewer raises are: first, the author made use only of New York City and State agencies such as Social Service Exchange of New York City, the Bureau of Criminal Identification of New York City and New York State, records of the Probation Department of the Children's Courts of the five Boroughs of New York City, adult criminal courts and correctional and penal institutions of the State, the Juvenile Aid Bureau of the Police Department, schools, hospitals, relief agencies, child and family welfare agencies, home and family visits, etc. The Federal Bureau of Investigation records were *not* consulted and so some offenders who may have committed adult offenses in other State might have been missed. Second, there were no fingerprint records of the 256 juvenile sex offenders and so those who may have committed offenses later in life *under an alias* could not be detected. Those who have worked in State Prisons know that aliases are frequently employed by criminals to hide their past records. In justice to Dr. Doshay, it should be stated that he recognized the latter limitation but was unable to do anything about it. With regard to the first criticism, he did make an exhaustive search of all available New York sources and even had homes, families, neighbors, and the subjects themselves interviewed where possible and desirable.

In marshalling his facts and presenting

his results, the author is at his best. There are 40 tables, 12 diagrams, a useful bibliography and index, with careful annotation and exact references scattered throughout the text. Wherever appropriate Dr. Doshay applies refined statistical techniques. He had the benefit of expert statistical advice from Professor Paul V. West of New York University. Critical ratios are cited at numerous points which generally indicate high reliability for the obtained differences between the two groups compared.

The results are presented in four parts; Part I, the *Background of the Sex Delinquent*, Part II, the *Personality of the Sex Delinquent*, Part III, the *Outcomes* and Part IV, *Conclusions*.

The findings are so numerous and interesting that the reviewer is at a loss as to which to stress in the limited space available to him. It is indisputable that they possess sufficient significance to prove extremely helpful to workers in the field in their day to day dealings with boy sex problems. *Not a single instance of a known sex violation* in adult life among the 108 members of the primary group was found. Even if we take into account the procedural limitations previously mentioned we cannot help being impressed since this warrants the author's tentative conclusion that court-and-clinic treated primary type sex offenders offer *excellent prediction possibilities* for the future (at least until age 28), and that they should occasion little concern, anxiety or suspicion from parents or guardians as to their behavior or outlook. Even in the mixed group, only 8 "failures" appeared among the 148 cases and these offenses were of a comparatively mild nature. The evidence also bears out the fact that juvenile sexual offenses, per se, do *not* mar the personality of the individual, nor condition him to later general anti-social behavior.

Mention must be made of the 30 full-life case reports which give the reader a clearer insight into the background and juvenile personality factors through later life events, than could be achieved through summary data in tables and charts. Of great interest is the fact that adult sex violators of the mixed group tended to re-

vert to the *same type of sex offense* as was practiced in juvenile years. Chapter XIV contains the pith of the entire study and presents the *insights, implications, and general conclusions* as seen from the perspective of the author's own evaluations of his study in the light of his clinical psychiatric and court background. Dr. Doshay infers, from the finding of no sexual violations among the 108 members of the primary group that the "latent deterrents of shame and guilt, indoctrinated during the stages of anal, bladder and onanistic control of infancy and early childhood, are strongly rearoused during the court and clinic exposure of the sex offense, and operate to bring about this remarkable result." He considers "that sexual offenses are *self-curing* because of the strong latent force of shame and guilt inherent in the moral-cultural pattern" and that "juvenile sex offenders should be regularly referred to a psychiatrist, if available, for initial study, sex hygiene guidance, and reorientation of the boy in the presence of his family." Psychoanalysts will take issue with Dr. Doshay's statement that, "*orthodox psychoanalytic treatment of the juvenile sex offender is not indicated and should be avoided,*" even though he quotes from Freud to substantiate it.

This book will certainly prove helpful and useful to practical workers of all kinds who deal with youthful sex problems in and out of institutions, in schools, social agencies, home, courts, psychiatric and psychological clinics and most of all to parents in understanding their own offspring.

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DISCOVERING OURSELVES (Second Edition).

EDWARD A. STRECKER AND KENNETH E. APPEL (In Collaboration with John W. Appel). New York. The MacMillan Company: 1943 434 pp. Price \$3.00.

This book, written primarily for the layman, presents the essentials of dynamic psychology and the principles of psychiatry and mental hygiene in such a way as

to help develop the reader's insight into his own emotional problems. It is now generally agreed that most intelligent people should have a working knowledge and understanding of mental hygiene to be able to preserve their mental health in these critical times. The authors have drawn upon their wide clinical experience and practice in meeting this need. They have made available, in non-technical form, the highly complicated concepts of the newer psychology. Their qualifications for this vital task are well known to psychiatrists and psychologists who have found their technical manual on "Practical Examination of Personality and Behavior Disorders" of signal value in professional practice. Dr. Strecker's work (in collaboration with Dr. F. G. Ebaugh), "Practical Clinical Psychiatry" is a recognized classic and has already gone through five editions. It is therefore gratifying that two such eminent authorities have addressed themselves to a wider audience enabling their work to reach parents, teachers, physicians and patients.

The present volume is a revision of the original book first published in 1931 and is subtitled, "A View of the Mind and How It Works". The continued wide interest in the book made necessary this new edition and is, in itself, a good indication of its usefulness. New chapters, (contributed by John W. Appel) on the Emotions, Fear, and Anger have been added. The most recent advances in psychosomatic medicine have been integrated into the text. Also, a series of well phrased questions, based upon each chapter, has been included as an appendix. The authors feel that these questions will aid the reader in crystallizing and applying their understanding and knowledge of the various chapters thereby enhancing their therapeutic value. However, they go further and state that the book "should enable many patients to carry on therapeutic work by themselves in study away from the physician's office". This statements applies only to the last stages of psychotherapy when the patient has already developed a good deal of insight.

The book is divided into two parts. Part I deals with the conceptions of modern psychology and such problems as the intimate relation between mind and body, action as the goal of mental processes, and the major struggles between the herd, the ego, and the sex complexes. The section begins with the posing of important and interesting questions which psychology attempts to answer. The authors hold to the view that in spite of the close relationship between body and mind, "nervousness" is *not* caused primarily by disease of the physical nerve system. A chapter is devoted to certain elementary psychological concepts, such as sensation, perception, thinking, reflex, emotion, habit, and instinct. This chapter helps orient the reader and acquaints him with psychological terms so that he is better equipped to grasp the subsequent discussions. The definitions are short and to the point.

In their discussions of the degrees of awareness, the authors discuss in simple terms, the *Conscious*, the *Subconscious*, and the *Unconscious*. They set up as one of the most important criteria of mental health, the maintenance of the proper balance between these three strata of the mind. The interplay between conscious, subconscious and unconscious is clearly delineated by the use of diagrammatic illustrations. The theories of Freud, Jung, and Rank are given brief attention.

Part II takes up the greater part of the volume and contains seventeen chapters on numerous topics aggregating a review of the psychology of everyday life. A very wide field is covered in survey form. Logical and emotional types of thinking are contrasted and illustrated. The nature of a *complex* is defined merely as an idea or group of ideas, closely bound together by a strong emotional bond. "Good" and "bad" complexes are described in terms of whether they accomplish something useful or are instead destructive in their effect on the individual. The most common mental mechanisms which are considered by the authors are regression, rationalization, segregation, repression, dissociation, conversion, sublimation, projection, identification, and idealization. Extroversion and introversion also

receive simple analysis. There is considerable over-simplification of all of these concepts but this is understandable because of the difficulties of explaining highly complex phenomena in non-technical language.

The treatment of the mental mechanisms is integrated and coordinated by considering them all as typical ways of meeting conflicts. *Regression* is thus explained as "a return to a former, somewhat primitive and rather childish type of reaction" in the presence of emotional difficulties and conflicts. *Rationalization* is depicted as "a psychological device that prevents us from seeing ourselves as others see us". Under each heading the authors give numerous examples to help the reader understand the concepts discussed.

The book also includes a list of "questions an individual with personality difficulties or nervousness should endeavor to answer". These revolve around: (a) physical equipment, (b) feelings and instincts, (c) conscience, ideals, standards, principles, goals, and codes, and (d) self and will. There are also 6 pages of general questions. The question and answer method of teaching has been found effective since the days of the *Socratic Quiz* and is put to good use by the authors. Provision is made for the more developed reader in the form of suggestions for supplementary reading.

This readable work, dedicated to the realization of the constructive potentialities of the human personality, can be recommended by psychotherapists to their patients who, when the first glimmerings of insight appear, may need an elementary non-technical book to start them on their way to explore the fascinating story of the human mind and how it works. The knowledge gained may furnish a background to emotional happiness and a fuller, well-adjusted life. Readers with more than a high school education will, however, find the book too elementary and over-simplified to meet their needs.

Samuel B. Kutash

Woodbourne, N. Y.

RACE AND CRIME. WILLIAM ADRIAAN BONGER. (Translated by Margaret Mathews Hordyk.) New York: Columbia University Press, 1943, VI plus 130 pp., \$1.50.

Bonger, former professor at the University of Amsterdam, treats crime as a social phenomenon and not a biological one. The book, *Race and Crime*, is a translation of his *Ras en Misdad*, published in 1939 in Harlem. Four sections comprise the work: On Race in General, General Considerations of Race and Crime, Race and Crime Case Studies, Resume and Conclusion.

The book investigates and summarizes the latest literature relative to crime and race. Statistics, interpretations, and the generalized conclusions of research articles are presented on the criminality of various races, e.g., Negro, Jewish, Mediterranean, Nordics, Alpines, Urgo-Finns, East Baltics and others.

The chapter of most appeal to this reviewer is found in that which presents case studies of various races in their relationship to the problem of crime. Consideration is given to the description of the individual race, its temperamentality, psychological components of make-up, etc. His thesis, that crime is a social factor and not inherent in the race, is strongly supported by statistics showing that first generation races in new countries may have a high rate of criminality in certain areas but that in succeeding generations there is a reduction of criminal activities in the same area. Race, he concludes, *per se*, is not a factor in determining the bases of criminal activities as no definite results have been obtained and too much is unsettled. Anthropology is in its infancy, observers are prejudiced and they interpret their observations as inferences, scientific psychology has made a promising beginning especially in the field of intelligence but this is secondary in importance for the subject of character has not been considered, etc. No person comes into the world a criminal save those pathological cases, the *insania moralis*, thus, Bongers' conclusions that the roots of crime are sociological. There are differences among races but the author feels that these

differences are exaggerated so far as their value to the problems of criminology is concerned. The principles of medical hygiene should be applied to those of criminology.

This small book has deep significance for those interested in the problem of race and crime. It is provocative; it has suggestions for future research; it has ideas that are different from those we are accustomed to see in most of the literature in the field; it has all the evidence of careful research, logical arrangements of data, and an inductive conclusion which needs much evidence in the form of essential research.

Chester D. Owens

Woodbourne, N. Y.

PSYCHOSOMATIC MEDICINE. THE CLINICAL APPLICATION OF PSYCHOPATHOLOGY TO GENERAL MEDICAL PROBLEMS. BY EDWARD WEISS AND O. SPURGEON ENGLISH. Philadelphia: Saunders Co. 1943 V plus 687 pp.

The authors of this comprehensive study are to be congratulated on a sensible presentation of what must still be considered highly controversial material. The development of this work proceeds on the assumption that the reader is partially conversant with the psychological theory, and is prepared to concede some fundamental origin for disease other than sheer perverse behavior of tissue and organ. "It is an obsolete point of view", says the authors, "that will only accept illness as real when it involves tissue pathology."

We owe it to Adolf Meyer and Cobb among others, to have illustrated the demonstrative value of the chronological life History for the grasp of disease evolution. Here we find seventy cases selected for illustration of certain disease syndromes, viewed from the subjective standpoint of the patient (rather than the objective one the physician concerned with his organs) in an endeavor to explain the func-

tional aspect of the whole disease process in situational and reaction terms. Thus its inherent structural basis as illustrated in medical textbooks is not touched upon, nor are end-products as such explained. Rather are we given an impression, more or less complete, of disease origins illustrating the unhappiness or discord, storm or stress operative in an individual case, and that somehow is involved *with* the patient to exacerbate the disease or aggravate the treatment. The speculative view of others (often admittedly unproven) are freely drawn upon to emphasize a dogmatic point, but frequently the clinical illustration belies the caption.

If the authors favor the anecdotal style in this work e.g., to illustrate domestic forces, it suggests a tacit outgrowth from the Psychosomatic Conference, if they employ a deceptively simple style (akin to Groddeck in places), it is to cater for the busy practitioner and the uninitiated but serious student. The choice of topic and its general modernity is reflected in the discussion of Induction Board problems, Military Medicine interests and post war anticipations.

The title might equally well have been Social Medicine, so strongly do the present authors stress the social background for disturbed function, the somial implication of inner stresses worked out at the expense of environment, and the influences of misguided *impersonal* medicine (organic), for the social weal or woe of the individual. "The wish to remain ill" is frequently stressed; but all this of course has nothing to do with socialised medicine or social disease, which by the way is singularly omitted throughout, though it relates directly to "psychic fate" in the organism.

In places it is noteworthy how happily is applied the telling phrase (italicised) e.g., "it is the cultivation of an erect philosophy of life that is going to accomplish cure," (in cardiac cases) . . . Emotional growth is "always painful" . . . Psychosis is "the extension of the conflict beyond somatic distress" . . . Pregnancy is "not to be recommended as a short cut to the solution of involved emotional problems" . . . "One safe rule (in marital problems) is never to take sides" . . . There is

quoted Wolfe . . . "when the moral education of children is taken over by women, the conscience tends to be formed . . . female."

It may here be stated that the book is rich in illustration, both clinical and statistical or by chart and diagram. Thus the Life situation and symptom formation are nicely classified; points of injury to the patient's Ego are shown developmentally in diagrammatic form; specific psychic situations are discussed, while Life Histories and History forms are also provided. There is something arresting in the framed synopses adopted of chief reaction types of psychoses, whilst the nature, implications, trend of treatment and summary of determinants are also invariably discussed. It may come as a surprise that so much stress on the physical is adhered to, amid so many real flashes of insight; e.g., a "steady grind of deprivation increases the passive personality tendencies" in diabetes; but "oxygen will relieve about 80% of patients with true Migraine". There is a sly unconscious humor in places . . . "The person with seizures should take pains to marry a person who registers normal brain waves".

The capacity to condense, to find the telling exemplar, and to interpret succinctly is not with the authors. The mode of illustration is largely a verbal one, "and this requires more time of the reader." The selection of authorities is perhaps sketchy and arbitrary and of rather poor judgment, whilst many are of dubious support. It is often difficult to determine how far the writers go in believing the views they retail, and how much insight is implied.

In a work of this kind we should like to have seen a more dogmatic standpoint taken, so that a list of realities could be parcelled out for the benefit of the general physician according to interest, e.g., that bleeding duodenal ulcer *is* self wound from a repressed homosexuality; weeping eczema *is* oozing of poisonous aggression; sugar diabetes *is* loading love on a threatening world; detached retina *is* castration of the phallos; anorexia nervosa *is* defence against prostitution, or that many a Collés *is* a break in historic continuity with a dreaded task, etc. In this way the

cross section of a vast literature of proven analytic finding could be summarised for stimulus it might provide to specialist research. There seems by contrast an unfortunate bias in certain directions. e.g., "The latently homosexual man is likely to be partially impotent" (p. 372) or "dream is a secretion of the mental apparatus just as urine . . . of the urinary apparatus" (p. 633) this metaphor being frequently repeated; it is rather jejune on the subject of the nightmare and on memory, "ideas welded together (by the child) into a satisfactory whole by a matrix of good will".

The whole question of sexual functioning in male and female is succinctly taken up in Chapter XII and here the liberal quotation from others, their own broad counseling the nice categorisation of causes of failure in married life, and the instinctual chequer board of conflicts involved, show the gifted authors at their didactic best. A separate chapter is devoted to treatment of the genito-urinary system, and topics in the case history to be elicited are indicated under suggestive headings, with the requisite *personality outline* drawn up for their accommodation. French has repeatedly emphasised the futility of such *ad hoc* headings that invite the patient to fit in, instead of profiting by his self revelation. An amusing diagram on impotence gives sort of *levels* of worry, social success near the vertex down to shame and hate at the (pre) genitals! The discussion of contraception and personal life stories are given disproportionate space.

Finally the tendency of submitting a single instance to represent the classical psychological picture typical of a larger group leaves much to be desired (though doubtless the authors have vast experience of the patients concerned), and in the case of Asthma for example, (Ch. XV) may give the reader wrong impressions of the fundamental factors elicited in Analysis. This entire chapter is distinctly sketchy in view of the known symbolic factors at work in allergic sensitivity.

The discussion sometimes follows under unexpected heads e.g. hyperpiesis and fainting spells under Central Nervous, or olfactory curiosity under hay fever. Arthritis here gains special consideration in

the light of analytic discoveries of the factor of repressed aggression and obstinacy in the denouement of this "psychosis".

We like the inclusion of social problems as fit and proper subjects of medicine and note the "normal problems" of societal psychotherapy come in for good reference and comment. In Chapter XXI normal problems in Psychotherapy come in for timely appraisal and a revealing comment with deep understanding. Such topics as Divorce, Parenthood, Education, Pregnancy, Child Upbringing and even Gerontology receive unusually perspicacious treatment with pithy comment and mature opinion all along. The presentation of the problem at any stage *to the patient* is also nicely indicated.

The training for Psychosomatics (Ch. XII) is rather more hastily contrived and concerns itself chiefly with attitudes obtaining among existing clinic personnel and the need for contending with its organic bias "... when the teaching is over the majority of the class no longer give the same attention to these questions" (of psychological and social background). To obviate such relapse they advocate some preliminary work on first principles including philosophy and anthropology, before the entry into medical school, the work ending in a personality study of the student himself. On the whole it accomplishes what it sets out to do, to familiarise the practitioner with the psychological implications of his work.

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HANDWRITING ANALYSIS. A SERIES OF SCALES FOR EVALUATING THE DYNAMIC ASPECTS OF HANDWRITING. BY THEA STEIN LEWINSON AND JOSEPH ZUBIN. New York: King's Crown Press, Columbia University 1942.

In this country, in contrast to many European countries, a distinct line seems to separate the handwriting expert from the graphologist. The work of the handwriting expert which is mostly laboratory work is considered more scientific than

that of the graphologist who is more or less looked upon as a person whose results are based upon intuition and a knowledge of methods which are not taken too seriously. The little book written by Thea Stein Lewinson and Dr. Joseph Zubin, research psychologist at the Psychiatric Institute combines the former writer's thorough knowledge of the various scientific European graphological systems with the latter's experience in American Psychology. They try for the first time to collect certain fixed data on basic features of handwriting using them to prepare formulas and graphs in order to provide reliable methods of testing personality.

The scepticism of American scientists was founded on the fact that many European graphologists have used rhythmic qualities as a base for the evaluation of personality. As rhythm represents a quality which can only be estimated subjectively, Graphology seemed inconsistent with real science which required exact measurements. The authors of this book have tried to replace the rather vague determination of "Rhythm" by a measurable scale ranging from extreme concentration to extreme release. This scale allows the determination of such qualities as form, contour, height, width, and slant of letters reducing those qualities to a common denominator, thus allowing an objective rating. Divergences from the normal can be used to determine nervous disturbances. Handwritings of a paranoid schizophrenic before and after the onset of the disease, are shown and analyzed, as well as the handwriting of a manic depressive, an obsessive neurotic and a normal handwriting.

This book may introduce a new era of Graphology which is struggling for its acknowledgement as a science in America. In criminal cases in which the defendant's mental condition is uncertain this new system can be of considerable help in addition to the psychiatrist's findings.

Rudolph S. Hearn

New York, N. Y.

BEHAVIOR AND NEUROSIS—AN EXPERIMENTAL APPROACH TO PSYCHOBIOLOGIC PRINCIPLES.
JULES H. MASSERMAN, M. D. Chicago:
The University of Chicago Press, 1943.
xiv plus 269 pp. Price \$3.00

The approach to this all-inclusive topic is essentially psychobiological as the sub-title indicates but the reviewer would feel that the "Psychoanalytic Approach" is casual and cursory at best. The work is primarily an outgrowth of the school of comparative psychology. It is in keeping with the reputation of the University of Chicago which for a number of years has been in the vanguard in the application of modern techniques. The recent work done upon animals in simulating and evaluating mental disorders is perhaps at the moment the most promising field of investigation into behavior. The author, of course, has been most careful in his avoidance of the alluring temptation to draw conclusions in the mental and behavior reactions of animals with respect to their applicability to the human being. It is only by the firm recognition of the gap that exists between animal and human behavior that experimental work in comparative psychology can be at all scientifically accepted.

The body of the work itself has been arranged to delineate the technique of the neurophysiologic investigation of behavior carried out by the author and his associates on specialized subjects. The remaining portion discusses the literature and concerns itself with the wider field of motivational behavior, conditioned reflex concepts, frustration and psychotherapeutic principles.

In Part I the apparatus and methods of use are minutely described and are illustrated by a series of plates showing the effects of experimentation largely on cats. The apparatus itself consists of the usual experimental cage with electrically controlled grille flooring, a feeder wheel and a box with an automatic contact timer which permits the automatic administration of accurately-timed visual, auditory, food, air-blast, or electric shock stimuli as desired. Cats introduced into this situation were studied as to their reactions to grid

shock, air-blast, frustrated feeding, signal conditioning, and other combinations of stimuli and situational adjustments. In addition, the Horsley-Clarke apparatus with anatomic controls was used especially in the study of the hypothalamus and cerebral cortex in the relation to overstimulation, irregular stimulation, destruction, effects of drugs, etc.

The author's psychobiologic concepts of neurosis and behavior are laid down in these early chapters. These may be briefly outlined as follows:

Behavior is not determined primarily by "drives" but is fundamentally motivated by the physiologic requirements of the organism. For this reason adaptation of the animal, and by implication the human being also, is not on the basis of a particular set of stimuli impinging upon it but rather it is to that which the organism conceives as being most useful to itself as an individual. Such a concept is really a combination of the Gestalt motivation plus that of incentive. The organism, therefore, has a total apperception of the field of the stimuli impinging upon it and it tends to respond to those stimuli in an integrated manner. The response may not be direct and may not fulfill the immediate biologic needs of the situation. As a matter of fact, the organism may respond either in a substitutive or symbolic manner. Such reaction still continues, however, to be purposeful and to the best advantage of that organism as it sees it. On the other hand the reaction may be harmful to the organism and the response although purposive may be emotionally over-determined. At this point, confused motivation in the apperceptive field arises and may be strong enough to induce conflict. Conflict leads to neurotic behavior and if the organism regresses too frankly, the behavior becomes excessively symbolic and psychotic. It will be noted that Masserman, therefore stresses again and again that the total field situation is reacted to by an inner apperception only insofar as it is imbued with a configuration of meanings to the individual.

This viewpoint, of course, is at variance with the School of Behaviorism. Also the author has been at great length to show in what way Pavlov with his

theory of balance of excitation and inhibition, Wundt with his theory of sensor neurophysiology and Sherrington with his concept of a hierarchy of levels of neurofunction fail to meet the needs of the organism.

Fundamental in all of these considerations is the origin and role of emotion. For some years the storm center of debate on the subject has been the determination of the true function of the Hypothalamus. The most significant part of the experimental work outlined by the author in this publication is by all means that done upon the Hypothalamic center. Masserman marshalls considerable data in refutation of the concept that the Hypothalamus is the center of the emotions. The usual stock argument against this theory has never been successfully attacked; namely, that the tremendously important role entailed by emotions upon the total organism could not be successfully perfected by a center anatomically so small. Experiments of Masserman and others show that the destruction of the Hypothalamus does not abolish emotional reactions. Other authors would take issue with this but the stimulation and/or destruction of that center with the production of so-called "sham rage" phenomena are not true manifestations of emotions. They are purely reflex phenomena and do not carry with them the affective depth of true emotions. The author has been able to show that faradic stimulation does not produce any significant change in emotional attitude or affect. Likewise he has shown that total destruction of the Hypothalamus and the associated pathways does not destroy emotions but that true emotional responses can be obtained without this neurological equipment. Many attempts have been made to condition animals by direct stimulation of the Hypothalamus but Masserman shows that this results only in a syndrome of peripheral reactions unaccompanied by any subjective experience. He concludes "The Hypothalamus is not an afferent experience-mediating organ but is a way station on efferent, sympathetic and motor pathways which cannot be conditioned by direct stimulation".

Perhaps Masserman has gone a little

farther than the average investigator is willing to admit in the matter of endowing the organism with the power of the use of incentive. He feels that through the process of trial and error the organism finds out what it believes to be the best or most pleasing in the environment for itself. It will tend to accept field situations which are emotionally or otherwise satisfying to itself and to avoid, escape, or nullify in any way that it can situations which are considered to be harmful. The author makes an addendum to the well-known and generally-accepted concept that the organism acts totally and in an integrated manner toward a field situation by calling attention to the continually changing organismal milieu. This is in harmony with many recent biological studies indicating that at any given moment an organism is in a state of delicate physiological balances and that such balances are subject to constantly changing environmental factors, which kaleidoscopic in nature though they may be, give the flexibility of adaptation to environment so necessary to the preservation of that organism. Clinicians, for example, have found to an increasing degree that one examination of a blood pressure does not give a true picture. The laboratory technician has come to know that one examination of a specimen does not reveal the basic physiology of that organ. Likewise, because of the constantly shifting values throughout its entire life, a single notation of a response to a situation by an organism must be checked and rechecked with sufficient time intervals in order to secure proper evaluations.

The production of experimental neurotic behavior in animals is of especial interest to the psychiatrist. The procedure is simple. A cat which is in the process of being conditioned to feeding upon a given signal becomes frustrated by having a blast of air impinged upon it at the feeding interval, thereby having inducted all the appearances of the syndromes of anxiety, counterphobic behavior, regression and even psychosis encountered in humans. The author in his discussion of these reactions, it would appear to the average psychiatrist, has been somewhat careless in his use of the concept of psychosis and

neurosis. The external manifestations of anxiety, fear, and regression are plainly evident. But some of the excessive symbolic behavior noted in psychosis such as delusional formation, hallucinations, dissociation and regression can not be demonstrated too clearly in these animals. The latter chapters of this book endeavor to bridge this gap.

Under the subject of motivational behavior the work of Jennings, Loeb, Brogdan and Color have demonstrated that animal experimentation can be made the dynamic approach toward the study of human behavior. Specific psychobiologic needs common to both humans and other animals are hunger and thirst. The instincts and drives of the organism are to maintain its optimal body economy on the basis of these specific needs. Raup has termed this "The Principle of Complacency" but in addition to this adaptive process, there is anticipatory behavior which is based upon memory experiences and is evaluative in terms of comfort and pleasure to the best interests of the organism itself. Frustration in the attainment of these needs leads to tension states as a forerunner of fear or anxiety. Fear is an emotion excited by a perceived or anticipated reality situation that threatens the individual. Anxiety is a diffuse pervading apprehensiveness without specific or clearly recognized reality referents. Each has the same syndrome of somatic expression. Anxiety is rooted in the threat to the satisfaction or security of the individual and it becomes neurotic when there is an unformulated and repressed fear that an earlier painful situation may be revoked. Experimental frustration in human subjects can be induced and fear and anxiety in these subjects closely parallel similar work done with experimental animals. According to Mowrer, anxiety in the human may be regarded as a motivating and reinforcing (fixating) agent similar to hunger, thirst, sex and temperature devices which form the basis of animal experimentation.

In addition to parallel studies between humans and experimental animals on the subject of frustration, anxiety, and fear, there is a growing amount of material on conflict and inhibition of behavior. Sub-

stitutive behavior may relieve tension thereby avoiding the state of anxiety and subsequent neurosis. The so-called "escape mechanisms" so widely employed by humans to secure tension release can be duplicated in animal experimentation. Fixation occurs with a reactive pattern which was once psychobiologically adaptive but no longer is advantageous to the organism and yet the response is repeated. Such repetition, purposeless as it is, parallels to a degree compulsive behavior. The compulsions and counter-phobias as we have already seen can be duplicated in animal experimentation.

Investigations for the purpose of drawing parallel conclusions between animal experimentation in the field of sexual aberrations and miscegenation are not on as firm a basis as some of the other experiments. The human being with subtleties of courtship, love-object choice and other sexual behavior presents a baffling field of investigation because of the difficulty in evaluating similar conduct in lower animals.

Masserman's book has a bibliography of approximately 1000 titles which is an invaluable reference source for students in this field. The format of the publication is such as to make legibility an outstanding feature. An 11-point type is used with liberal spacing. The footnotes are well-condensed without being excessively erudite. They are challenging enough to be read even by the casual reader and add considerably to the value of the text. This work is not a textbook in itself and must be considered as supplementary to those who are interested in the particular subject. However, it must be repeated again, that investigation of behavior through animal experimentation is a most promising field at the present moment and no one who claims to be a serious student of behavior can neglect a thorough understanding of this work.

V. C. B.

SOCIAL FACTORS IN CRIME (AS EXPLAINED BY AMERICAN WRITERS OF THE CIVIL WAR AND POST CIVIL WAR PERIOD). ELLEN ELIZABETH GUILLLOT. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1943. p. ix plus 197. Price \$1.50.

This sociological treatise presents an extensively documented account of the theories, observations and studies on social causes of crime as revealed in the literature published in the United States during the period 1860 to 1885. The author has carefully recorded the historical setting which nurtured the ideas on crime of that period as well as the actual events and trends of the times which determined the emphasis which was placed on particular social aspects of delinquency. To give these facts perspective and significance to present-day readers, she gives her impressions of possible differences between the thought of the period studied and that of today. The study considers only social factors to the exclusion of possible mental and physical causes. The time period of the investigation, 1860-1885, though arbitrarily chosen, does offer the methodological advantage of having available numerous reports and serial publications of several national organizations such as the American Social Service Association, the National Prison Reform Congress, and the National Conference of Charities and Corrections, which were formed shortly after the Civil War. Three types of crime statistics, prison, judicial and police, were then published and were made use of by Dr. Guillot in her study.

The historical setting of the twenty-five years of American History covered in the survey, is described in the first chapter. Some of the social changes and political events, recaptured for the reader as a basis for the criminological ideas of the period, are the problems of slavery, the Civil War, the Reconstruction period, the beginnings of the great industrial developments, the piling up of huge individual fortunes, the development of the West, the growth of cities, the beginnings of labor unions, the invention of the telephone and telegraph, and the political aegis of the Republican party during that era. The extension of education and compul-

sory education laws, the beginnings of woman suffrage, and many other social phenomena are briefly traced. A mass of historical material has been boiled down into brief compass. The development of organizations such as the Philadelphia Society for Alleviating the Miseries of Public Prisons with its publication, the *Journal of Prison Discipline and Philanthropy*, and the formation of the New York Prison Association whose annual reports provided good sources of data, are set forth to further arm the reader with background facts.

Among the social factors considered by the author are the influences of the family life of the period, housing, geographical location, liberal education, trade education, economic conditions, immigration and nativity, race, intemperance, and level of civilization. A chapter is devoted to each of these principal headings and some highly illuminating facts are brought out. Some of the characteristics of family life which might have contributed to the criminal behavior of the period, were: heredity, lack of proper discipline and training in the home, unfavorable attributes of parents, unhappy marital relations, separated parents, orphanage, step-parents, size of the family, age of marriage, marital status of the criminals themselves, and the duration of the family or home life. It is interesting that housing was then credited with acting most directly in fostering crime. Some localities, both sections within the boundaries of a city and also large areas or whole communities, were observed to produce an excessive number of criminals or to exhibit a characteristic type of crime.

Dr. Guillot presents excellent chapters on liberal education and trade training in relation to criminality. In those days right after the Civil War, the large majority of criminals were illiterate and uneducated. Over 35% had never attended school. Compulsory education laws existed, but were not seriously enforced. Education was held up by the criminologists of that day as a possible way of preventing crime. Vocational and trade training was considered a good method of removing the necessity for many criminal

acts by providing the ability and means for persons to earn an honest living.

The chapter on *Economic Conditions* is most satisfying to the reader who is disposed to believe that advances have been made in human ability to understand and study crime, because it has been in the economic field that means of study and measurement have shown the greatest change. One of the most important questions confronting the criminological thinkers of the period 1860-1885 was, "Does poverty cause crime?" The influence of the four complete business cycles which occurred in the period under review and the resultant economic fluctuations, on crime incidence is well summarized from many sources.

A mass of cold statistics relating to immigration and nativity is succinctly condensed and made meaningful for us by the author in an enlightening chapter. It is informative that, from 1860-1885, of the different nationality groups in this country, statistics show that the Irish contributed the highest number of criminals while the Germans ranked next in line of frequency. The British Provinces were listed as providing a large proportion of women who became street walkers. However, the Chinese elicited the most comment during this period. They were selected for attack on many scores. Their morals were described as low and emphasis was placed on their habits of opium smoking, prostitution, gambling and dishonesty. An attitude similar to that of the Californians toward the Chinese was found in New England toward the French Canadians. Persons writing on crime causation during the post Civil War period concluded that the foreign born contributed more than their proportionate share of criminals and that the native born of foreign parentage was a group requiring special attention. Today, the same conclusions are arrived at by authorities although the immigrant nationalities of the earlier period are supplanted by the Italians, the Poles, the Russians, and others. It is therefore obvious that criminality is not inherent or inborn in any nationality but rather is a product of both of the usually low social and economic status of immigrants whatever their nationality and

of the culture conflicts between foreign born parents and native born children.

The chapter on the Negro fails to bring out any facts which are applicable today or which could be used as bases for comparison with present day data. This is largely due to the fact that the Negro had not yet migrated to the North in great numbers and that conditions in the South following the Civil War and the attitudes of writers towards both the blacks and the whites made impossible a clear description of the criminal behavior of the Negro or of his White neighbor with whom he was compared. There was some evidence to show that the Negro was held to have a penchant for larceny which explained the preponderance of Negro population in the Southern prisons. The Negro's background and his experiences under the southern system of slavery were believed to account for the type of crime he committed.

Concerning the influence of alcoholism on crime, Dr. Guillot states that "more words were written by the criminologists and pseudo-criminologists of the Civil War and post Civil War period on intemperance as a cause of crime than on any other conceivable cause. The quality of the writings did not justify its quantity."

An interesting theory of crime during the post Civil War era was that it is closely associated with what is called civilization and the students of the period accepted this theory. They realized, says the author, that "the operation of any one factor could only partially explain the social phenomenon of crime, and that the influence of any one could not be distinctly segregated nor accurately measured, so closely associated were the 'constituents' with one another."

The researcher concludes, on the basis of her detailed study, that the changes in the thought on the social causes of crime have been minor since the days of the Civil War. "Today our knowledge may be more detailed, our techniques of measurement more refined . . . Our judgment may be more sober and our enthusiasm more restrained . . . We cannot see that we today have a keener insight into nor a more practical understanding of crime as a social phenomenon".

Twenty pages of closely printed bibliography testifies to the magnitude of the task which Dr. Guillot has performed in this study. The reviewer believes that her monograph is a definite contribution to criminology and sociology which deserves wide attention.

Samuel B. Kutash

Woodbourne, N. Y.

THE DIAGNOSIS AND TREATMENT OF BEHAVIOR-PROBLEM CHILDREN. HARRY J. BAKER AND VIRGINIA TRAPHAGEN. New York. The MacMillan Company. 1937. xiv plus 393 pp.

This handy volume which is almost pocket-size and in many respects is the equivalent of a manual on the subject constitutes one of the very well-known series put out by the MacMillan Company under the title of "Experimental Education Series". The impress and format have been very well-known to educators for a number of years to the extent that it is almost a standardized form. The authors who are recognized authorities in their respective fields have organized the subject matter into a section on clinical minutia consisting of some sixty-six factors used in the diagnosis of behavior problems in children and a section devoted to an interpretation of these factors. The portions of the publication which deal with the historical background of behavior work and illustrative case studies while containing valuable data in themselves are for the most part incidental to the main thesis as indicated above. In passing, however, attention may be called to the very interesting table prepared with a great deal of thought and considerable clinical reference under the title of "Percentage of Greatest Frequency of Items with One Another". The table clearly indicates that the greatest incidence of the presenting problem in clinics is quarrelsomeness and untruthfulness. The reluctance with which many children lend themselves to discipline is plainly evident throughout. An elaborate table on inter-

correlation factors in 189 behavior cases presents interesting material for those who are statistically minded but the reviewer is inclined to think that analyses of this nature do not offer much real aid to the clinician.

Quite the contrary observation, however, may be made of the main portion of the work covering the so-called sixty-six factors encountered in the diagnosis of behavior disorders. Each factor is broken down into test questions which may be asked the patient and the parents, respectively. A notation is made of additional questions and observations and a scale of rating based on these answers is built up so that a grand total may be secured for the entire sixty-six factors. The factors themselves range through the entire examination routine and include health, physical defects, personal hygiene, habits of eating and sleeping, recreation and social activities, abilities in school work, family relationships, etc. The questions outlined are very well considered and as far as they go cover the ground very well. The experienced clinician will find, however, that he will have to draw upon his own knowledge and resourcefulness in innumerable ways in order to build up a proper evaluation of the case. The outline of examination as given in this publication undoubtedly would bring much valuable data to the lay person and would be very helpful in building up preparatory studies to be presented to the clinician by the lay person but it could not supplant the type of examination necessary in a thorough evaluation of behavior problems. This is not a difficulty arising from the presentation of the subject by the authors but is inherently the difficulty of any attempt to pin clinical procedure to a cut and dried questionnaire and rating form. It is the experience of every clinician that each patient presents to him a pattern which involves thorough analysis in some particular direction far beyond the means of any questionnaire to encompass. Within these limitations, however, the authors have made an exceedingly compact and valuable contribution to diagnostic technique.

The interpretation of the sixty-six factors has been remarkably well done.

Only clinicians of considerable experience could write with the compactness exhibited in these pages. Perhaps a single sentence would cover points that become obvious to the examiner only through years of experience. Allusions to schools of thought or of differences in interpretation have been reduced to a minimum so that the subject matter has been treated somewhat didactically with the net result of incisiveness and usability. The examiner feels that the clinician may read over these pages with much advantage to him personally regardless of how much experience he may have had in the field.

V. C. B.

CULTURAL AND RACIAL VARIATIONS IN PATTERNS OF INTELLECT. PERFORMANCE OF NEGRO AND WHITE CRIMINALS ON THE BELLEVUE ADULT PERFORMANCE SCALE. SOLOMON MACHOVER, PH. D. New York: Columbia University Press. 1943. pp. 91. Price \$1.60.

This doctor's dissertation by a clinical psychologist of wide experience who is keenly aware of the limitations and shortcomings as well as the advantages and values of psychometric tests is illustrative of the increasing maturity of the *psychometric pattern analysis* technique as a research method for differentiating clinical personality types and now racial and cultural variations. Dr. Machover, who is Chief Psychologist of the Kings County Hospital Psychiatric Division, infuses this recently developed approach with a dynamicism and psycho-social coloring which gives it added meaning. Aside from the fact that his research is carefully planned, masterfully developed, and painstakingly executed, his clinical insight and statistical skill provides an authentic contribution to our existing knowledge of race differences and criminal psychography.

The study investigates the question of racial differences in intellectual pattern by means of a group comparative analysis of unselected Negro criminals and White criminals matched with each other in age, level of schooling, and I. Q. on the Bellevue Adult Intelligence Scale. A further

comparison is made between the test performance of White criminals with that of White subjects differing from them by not having a record of delinquent or criminal behavior, but matched with them in age, level of schooling and Bellevue I. Q., in order to ascertain whether there is a pattern of intellect specific to criminality. An additional, carefully controlled comparative study is carried out to determine whether Negro criminal groups who are widely divergent in cultural background, but equated in age and a suitable measure of general capacity, are differentiable in the patterning of subtest abilities on the Bellevue Scale. An adaptation of the multiple-regression technique, *Fisher's discriminant function*, which yields the maximum differentiation inherent in the raw data between any two groups in a linear combination of all the subtests, constitutes the statistical method used to probe differentiability of the contrasting groups with respect to the patterning of subtest abilities.

The criminal subjects, all examined in the Psychiatric Clinic of the Court of General Sessions in New York County, with the Bellevue Adult Intelligence Scale, aggregated a total of 425 cases. The non-criminal subjects were drawn from the original standardization data of the Bellevue Scale. The matching of the various groups compared, for age, level of schooling and I. Q., leaves nothing to be desired. However, the matching of the two groups of culturally divergent Negroes for subtests 1 and 5, Comprehension and Similarities, rather than for I. Q. or total score, is justified by the researcher only by the fact that he found it impossible to obtain sufficient subjects with continuous schooling in New York to match the 50 Negro criminals who had no more than three grades of schooling in the South and none in the North.

The results of the study provide the answers to the three main problems of the research. First, it was shown that Negro criminals from backgrounds severely restricted in the opportunities and stimulations for mental development were differentiable in Bellevue subtest pattern from Negro criminals whose backgrounds, while very far from optimal, have been consid-

erably less deprived in important essentials. The author attributes this differentiation not to any difference in inherent or native intellectual *capacity* but rather to *cultural differences*. However, this is an assumption which the reader can either accept or reject. Dr. Machover's arguments are logically tenable, if not empirically proven, and his method of stating his case for environment versus heredity, is very persuasive based, as it is, on sound thinking and factual material.

By far the greatest contribution of the thesis is the demonstration that Negro criminals are significantly, if slightly, differentiable from White criminals on the basis of variations in the patterning of subtest abilities on the Bellevue Scale. The data clearly indicates that there is a difference between the two races. However, whether this is a truly inherited, racial difference or merely the outcome of cultural factors which defy control is still a moot question. The author feels that the fact that there are such uncontrollable cultural differences between the groups and that the total differentiation hinges on such slight differences with respect to the individual subtests argues *against* a truly racial basis for the obtained differentiation. He marshalls an array of previous investigations in support of his interpretation.

The study contradicts previous searches which have *failed* to find a significant difference between adult criminals and "normals" in scatter on the Stanford-Binet or in discrepancy between vocabulary and a composite of other functions. Dr. Machover *does find* a significant difference between adult criminals and "normals" when some of the qualitative features of inter-test variability are taken into account and when the statistical technique employed is designed to maximize the differentiation inherent in the raw data. The greatest contribution to the differentiation of the criminal from the non-criminal group is made by subtest 3, *Information*. Information is probably in largest measure dependent on motivations and skills developed in school. Yet despite equal exposure to schooling, the criminal group is significantly inferior to

the non-criminal group in fund of general information. This may be an indication, says the author, of the scholastic maladjustment which, despite nominal progress through the grades, so frequently parallels delinquent behavior and precedes ultimate conviction for a felonious offense.

Some inkling of the author's theoretical perspective and capacity for defining and refining concepts can be gained from his statements that "performance on an 'intelligence' test is an expression of the whole personality operating at a particular time in its history in a given field situation; it yields a pattern of functional organization in which the whole individual projects significant aspects of his life history." These two statements tie in with the current trend of utilizing projective techniques for the measurement and qualitative assessment of personality. Can an "intelligence" test be used as a projective technique through taking into account the patterning of responses in the Rorschach manner? Here is a problem for future research.

The dynamic flexibility of the author's thinking is nicely illustrated by his view that "a particular type of pattern in one race, or at a particular level of cultural opportunity may be suggestive of pathological impairment. In another race, or at another cultural level, the same pattern may reflect no individual impairment but rather a group variation in vital conditions of psychological organization". The problem arises whether individual diagnosis can be made on the basis of the group differences found in a study of this nature. Many clinicians will agree with Dr. Machover that, "Far too often, in typical clinical procedures, tests of intelligence are permitted to yield I. Q.'s which, for a clientele of psychological, cultural, and social deviates, frequently *conceal more than they reveal*".

In summary, statisticians will find valuable material for analysis and study in the statistical treatment of the data in this study while students for the doctorate can well use it as a model for that type of research technique. Psychologists will welcome the dynamic re-interpretation and re-definition of previously accepted and basic concepts while sociologists and anthropol-

ogists will be interested in the further light thrown on criminality and race differences. The study is of high scientific interest in a number of different fields.

Samuel B. Kutash

Woodbourne, N. Y.

TRAINING FOR SKILL IN SOCIAL CASE WORK.
VIRGINIA P. ROBINSON. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 126 pp., 1942.

Into this slender volume of scarcely 130 pages is crammed the philosophy of a lifetime in social case work in the sense understood by the Pennsylvania School. There are gathered together the individual viewpoints of five leading social workers working under a common inspiration and galvanised by Prof. Robinson's own dynamic personality whose influence is felt throughout. The shift from a concept of Social Service to one of social study and finally down to social work indicates the trend of its resources.

This work differs from others in the field in its frank attempt to understand itself from within, to keep constant check on its own evolution and the effects of interaction with others and in its conscious exploitation of identification mechanics in dealing with problems from without. Nothing in the student's life is overlooked that can be pressed into service for the client's welfare and vice versa. The thesis loses no time in explaining the special meaning it has for Service and Skill, Function and Movement also Process in its handling of human material, though there are times when an almost mystic import seemingly attaching to each of these concepts becomes lost in its further pursuit, as of some airy abstraction that a patient yogi is bidden to ponder over and comprehend. There is little doubt that the bio-philosophy which underlies this singular attempt to give dignity and understanding to help to the tangled skein woven by a struggling humanity, is based on sound principles inherent in an academic method that takes rise in the developed outlook of Otto

Rank "a dynamic, present swift moving experience" that never permits itself to be divorced from the activities it surveys and the reactions it brings about. This interplay of forces, social forces, client and agency forces, forces at work within the student herself makes for a common harmony of function by virtue of the intuitive understanding of needs and processes, valencies and structuralisations inherent in the particular setup. At no point does the author pause to enquire if a masterly inactivity in a situation would not have produced the same or better results "a negative aspect that releases the client to the possibility of something positive"; the machinery is there to be set in motion and stolid in its own optimism grinds out its functional results. True, on occasion is doubts itself and there is an amusing instance of this projection-identification approach on which it prides itself running amok. Thus when a department was being re-located and procedures and policy changed or destroyed, two of the student group behaved in sympathy, cleared out its own mental content, scrapped its stodgy methods and was in a stage of complete revolution when a guiding supervisor called a halt! The transference to teacher-adviser and to client is an enlivening factor. Just how far the student's complexes and familial constellations can become involved in these social endeavors is not pursued, though there is some perfunctory reference to the need for self-analysis. The training process indicates that the whole movement is in the direction of *self-release in service* and that professional skill ably applied is a function of the individual at one with his chosen medium, "a skill that outweighs any lack of administrative and business experience" on his part.

The Personality is thus the object of considerable attention throughout the training period indeed. "The development of the instinctive life of the individual" is its psychology course or inherent in the function of its 'personality course'. This "profound organic learning experience" of directing impersonal help without becoming involved in a total situation or satisfying an emotional need con-

tinues till he is weaned from his class and has become an independent whole.

The agency becomes by identification such a unit involved in the needs of the society it caters for, as does the worker with the needs of clients. They must interact. It is constantly forging pseudopodia or instruments sufficiently sensitive to the changing attitudes and expectations of the community. Can mass relief ever become individual therapy. This is its fundamental role in service acting as a sustaining medium for the worker with a releasing function toward the client and engaged in tireless analysis of its methods and reactions in space.

The class work is throughout intelligently related to field study and the functional unity is secured by teachers coordinating theory and practise which carries over to student reaction, reflected back in new procedures and new outlooks.

This resolving of difficulties, this bridging of the gap between the two constitutes its finest discipline for here the student's own progress comes into relief and into review.

Supervision of the advanced work by direct and indirect control and by adviser service tends to enhance and guide the "patterns of Growth" that the 2-year training is designed to achieve. It is an elastic experiment that involves the worker in an elaborate and by no means rigid set-up, directed to society and agency as they are constituted and leaving him a free-agent ultimately to operate between the two and under the aegis of both. It is only for the purposes of artificial dissection of his true function that he is viewed as a thing apart, experiencing and interacting amid social phenomena he may not directly control but only change to an effective outcome. Such skill is a 'function' of his own mental growth.

Samuel B. Kutash

Woodbourne, N. Y.

THE CLARKS—AN AMERICAN PHENOMENON.
WILLIAM D. MANGAM. New York: Silver Bow Press. 1941, IX plus 257 pp. \$2.50.

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This is a biographical study of William Andrew Clark, American Mining magnate and one of the fifteen most wealthy men in the world. Its theme in the field of biographical works is that which the originator of the genealogical novel, Butler (*Way of All Flesh*), employed: the sins of the father are visited upon his children. It is a complete saga along a certain vein of a forceful character whose massed wealth proved of little value to either himself or his four legitimate psychopathic children. Moral deterioration when wealth becomes the only criterion for social standing is stressed at great length.

One could state that psychopathology may often be evidenced in high stations and be relatively immune from the checks given ordinary individuals because of great affluence and power. This is very well known to be shown in a number of historical cases of great military leaders and political geniuses. A similar state of affairs existed in the earlier years of this country while psychopathic conduct was allowed great privilege and lack of check by their fellowmen because of loosely constructed laws, political prestige, etc. To a degree this is clearly indicated by Mangam's survey of the Clark family.

William Andrew Clark was born in Pennsylvania in 1839. Early in his life his family migrated Westward. He ultimately became a teacher, tradesman, banker, and miner. He returned East to marry a childhood sweetheart from Pennsylvania. From this union four children were born. After his wife died when he was in middle age, he became the patron of a young girl whom he educated, sent abroad for further study, had two illegitimate children by her, announced his marriage to her through personally owned newspapers, but assured his children by his first wife that she could never establish the marriage because of manipulation and destruction of records.

As one might expect, in Clark's rise to financial and political power, he made

many enemies. Outstanding was one Marcus Daly, a mining man of reputation who settled in Butte, Montana, where Clark was located. Clark did much to discredit Daly in the eyes of the latter's employers. They, however, ignored Clark and informed Daly of certain accusations. Daly's successes paralleled Clark's to a great extent and his potentialities were a source of irritation to Clark. Politically Daly stood in Clark's way of becoming the first U. S. Senator from Montana. Daly was not interested in the office personally, but his hatred toward Clark was so intense that he gathered certain political strength to crush Clark. Charges of bribery in the elections were levied against Clark by Dalyites. Daly wanted Anaconda, built by himself, for the State capital; others wanted Helena. Clark, for distinctly political purposes, threw the weight of his newspapers in favor of Helena. If Daly would not block Clark further, Clark offered to discontinue his newspaper campaign. Daly dissented. A bought jury freed Clark of the bribery charges. Clark after three elections which resulted in no appointment to the Senatorship for anyone, finally went to Washington under a cloud. There he was rejected. He made a speech of resignation. At the same time, he had his older son in Montana manipulate to have the Governor absent from the Capitol at the time. The Lieutenant Governor, a Clarkite, was handed the resignation by the son. The Lieutenant Governor immediately appointed Clark to succeed himself. Other political and business manipulation by Clark are exposed, in fact, one is amazed at the bluntness of the book.

In social and marital relationships Clark was equally crafty, impersonal and impervious to the desires or ambitions of others. As he hid behind philanthropic efforts (the Clark art collection valued at over \$3,000,000 in the Corcoran Gallery at Washington, the establishment of a Girl Scout camp in memory of his daughter, etc.) so his children did the same. Each of their lives (business dealings, inter-familial relationships, marriages, etc.) are limned in a chapter apiece. The homosexuality of Clark, Jr., the second son occupies many pages. The picture, of sex perverts maintained at various times takes

up a page. His difficulties with the law over a house he built sans windows in which all types of acts of perversion were performed coupled with the names of trollopes maintained heightens the acute sexuality of this member. The other son and the daughters are treated in the same manner with gigoloes, paramours, seductions, etc., flashed from page to page..

To appraise the book is exceedingly difficult. Biography to date may be considered mid-Victorian in comparison with this book. One must ask what the purpose of the author may possibly be in using his method of approach in presenting the family. The author mentions that he gathered the materials "during thirty years of service as general business agent to one of the sons (Clark, Jr.) of the principal character" (preface) and again Mangam is mentioned as Secretary and Treasurer of the Elm Orlu Mining Claim with Clark, Sr., as President, and Clark, Jr., as Vice President (Page 195). But for these few lines we would have no knowledge of the author's thirty years' business experience with the family. The author shows his objectivity by relegating this long association to these short mentionings. Clark, Jr.'s, will was filed in Silver Bow County, Montana and the family lived there for years. Is it coincidental that this book is published by the Silver Bow Press in New York. This reviewer is dissatisfied in spite of the cover blurbs. New ideas or schools in writing need the advantage of years of critical appraisal and comparison for longevity. The reviewer leaves the book for aging.

Chester D. Owens
Woodbourne, N. Y.

ACUTE INJURIES OF THE HEAD. J. F. ROWBOTHAM. Edinburgh: E. & S. Livingston. XII plus 288 pp. with 124 illustrations, twelve in full color. 1942.

This work, from an internationally known surgeon is in many respects a treatise and reflects the compact style of one who is accustomed to deal with surgical procedures. There is little or no al-

lusional material, no parenthetical explanation, no attempt to reconcile one method as against another but the author forthrightly proceeds to his point with a directness of exposition which one would find in a laboratory manual. Such procedure is particularly satisfying to the student or the general practitioner called upon to treat head injuries. The author proposes to call a spade a spade and he does so without any embarrassment. In his preface he indicates that the work is for those "who have not received a special training in neurosurgery or in neurology". Nevertheless the neurologist may read the book to great advantage.

The opening chapter on mechanisms of injuries of the head is a classic in itself and has been the simplest and best presentation on the subject that has yet come to the reviewer's attention. The diagnosis especially of closed injuries of the head takes up a number of points which are perplexing to the general practitioner meeting this type of case. The carefulness with which the author has presented the differential diagnosis of various radiological features of the skull provides information of considerable value to the practitioner who does not have special training in roentgenology. Fine linear types of fracture can be readily overlooked by the inexperienced or confused with diploic channels, meningeal grooves, and suture lines.

The relationship of the course and prognosis of the case to pulse, temperature, blood pressure, and especially to degrees of coma, are emphasized by the author in his chapter on diagnosis of closed injuries of the head. He especially favors exploratory trepaning to a greater degree perhaps than is done by the average neurosurgeon. These small inspection windows cut in the skull in doubtful cases have proved to be of inestimable diagnostic value.

The author, of course, is at his best in connection with the surgical treatment of both closed and open injuries of the head because it is in the surgical field that his widest experience has been obtained. The cuts, method of application of instruments and surgical technique are unusually clear and understandable for a

work in neurosurgery. Here again all extraneous material has been avoided. The steps are classified and outlined in clear order and present the subject with considerable thoroughness.

The closing chapters of this publication are of special interest to the neurologist who is called upon to give legal opinion regarding the outcome of head injury cases. In the closed injury cases the moot point as to the possible later appearance of epilepsy is adequately covered by the author's chapters on electroencephalography. A few well-chosen statistical tables indicate the incidence of post traumatic epilepsy in the opinion of leading investigators. The post-concussional syndrome so frequently encountered in general medical practice receives a full dozen pages of discussion. The neurologist will find that the author has completely presented specialized injuries to the brain, such as involvement of the cranial nerves and localized cortical lesions.

From the foregoing remarks one may readily surmise that Rowbotham's publication is just the sort of book to be on the shelves of the general practitioner who encounters frequently head injuries of all kinds from automobile accidents and will thus be put in possession of a certain understanding of a rather complex subject which will enable him to secure proper consultation and to evaluate his cases to some degree with respect to their final outcome. The work is to be highly commended for its clearness of presentation, splendid cuts, and general legibility.

V. C. B.

PSYCHIATRY IN WAR. EMILIO MIRA, M. D.
W. W. Norton & Co., Inc., 70 Fifth
Avenue, New York City. pp 206.

The internationally-known author of this book has derived the essence of his psychiatric war experiences from the events of the Spanish-American War. Hatred and bitterness have led to political and military participation of the Spanish population to an extent not yet attained in World War II. Out of such background

is drawn the material for Mira's publication and surely its tenets are equally applicable to the present-day conflict.

The first portion of the small but constructive volume emphasizes the role that anger and fear come to play in reducing the soldier to the position of a non-combatant. The treatment is largely in lay terms and with its discussion of the position of the psychiatrist in the war effort, becomes a treatise in mental hygiene.

The mid-portion of the book is of extreme interest in its outline of psychiatry in the Nazi and Spanish Republican armies, respectively. The German military secure selection of officers through regimentation, ultra-classification and reliance upon physical facts of expression, such as, analyses of facial and manual gestures of pantomime and specific tests largely athletic and manual in nature. The analysis of handwriting is given a high place in evaluating the applicants whereas in other countries this is a relatively undeveloped field.

Somewhat in contrast to this method, the Spanish Republican Army organized its psychiatric and mental hygiene service along humanistic lines. The individual was studied as to his possibilities of reactions as an individual under stress rather than as an automaton who could be specifically trained to eliminate any reactions to such stresses.

The third portion of the work is devoted to specific disorders and it is here that the richness of Mira's clinical experience is observable. Most of the mental disorders noted in both civil and military life are touched upon briefly but effectively. Some therapeutic suggestions are novel. Thus in the Spanish War the trend was to project the patient back into the field of operation at as early a moment as possible, thereby eliminating the feeling in him that he had become a total loss and was to be for the rest of his life an object of pity. The statistics with respect to some 600,000 casualties suffered in the campaign for the period of a year show the amazing percentage of only 0.432 permanent mental cases. During one of the fiercest engagements of the war it was found that only 0.25% of the total could be considered permanent mental cases.

This, of course, is at considerable variance with the medical findings in the present World War. Mira explains the inconsistency of incidence of permanent mental disorders incurred in military service as compared with those in civilian life by stating that the neuroses and psychoneuroses are tremendously increased in the army and, therefore, are more amenable to a clearing up than other mental disorders in the civilian population. The paranoid syndromes (schizophrenic and paraphrenic) show the reverse tendency. The general conclusion is that "conditions for the restoration of mental casualties whether neurotic or psychotic are better in the army because of the absence of family interference, the increased feeling of oppression and discipline, the concentration of therapeutic agencies and the increased authority of the psychiatrist". Malingering has presented very few problems as they could be dealt with summarily and effectively without loss of time. The organization of recovering and retraining centers following military service is one of the outstanding reasons for the reduction in permanent mental disabilities.

The final portion of the book is devoted to a special technique of investigation of unconscious motivations devised by the author and first reported in the Proceedings of the Royal Society of Medicine in 1940 under the title of "Myokinetic Psychodiagnosis: New Technique of Exploring the Conative Trends of Personality." This is an interesting and little known technique which the author believes is especially valuable in psychodiagnosis of young adults. The test is essentially that of quick screened sketching in three different planes, the tracing of chains of small circles and the putting in of rungs of a ladder between two parallel lines. All of this is performed by the patient under conditions in which he is screened from his own tracings. Deviations in the drawings have been standardized by the author and from these tracings he can determine the size, direction, and accuracy of the tracings which are presumed to fall into certain patterns indicative of certain abnormal mental trends. In the evaluation of any technique of this kind one must first have a very large number of

such examinations upon which to establish so-called norms before abnormal mental states can be diagnosed. It is also necessary to correlate these findings with other known techniques in the particular field. There is nothing in this publication which indicates that Mira has thoroughly followed these two procedures.

In all, the volume is quite provocative with considerable range and showing evidences of a highly creative mind. It is a unique publication and one which certainly has its place in the psychiatric literature of war. Its legibility and careful avoidance of technical discussions make it quite readable even to the layman.

V. C. B.

PSYCHOANALYSIS AND MEDICINE. THE WISH TO FALL ILL. KARIN STEPHEN. Cambridge: University Press. pp 238. 1939.

Three or four reprintings of this highly successful presentation of analytic thought, by a keen clinician and a practising analyst, that goes into great detail in explaining the ultimate reasons for sickness in respect of the unconscious Wish, testify to the high value placed on its original thinking and painstaking creative work. The main enquiry covers the infantile sources of pleasure-seeking in Feeding, Excretion and Erection, and the anxieties that are the outcome of its malfunctioning on any level. An adequate description of defence mechanisms follows, while the reader is prepared for the main contribution by an opening account of the nature of the Unconscious and answers to the conventional criticisms. Follows a wide range of interests, of historic reconstructions, of the conflict over illness, and the peculiar difficulty in the way of elucidating the Unconscious field.

Stephen sees the origin of the (personal) Uc. in disappointment, and the Wish for illness, in guilt and punishment systems. She sketches an infantile world rather unlovely, a world dominated by an ugly tyranny that is at once spoil-sport and kill-joy, not unlike that met with by

Alice in Wonderland where such angry voices and unpleasant happenings seem to punctuate the scene. As the main purpose of this discourse is to help in the grasp processes of disease and its understanding, it is fitting that the sickly and unlovely side of (human) nature come up for interpretation, as the negation of all that is best in successful Libido functioning.

There is related, with a wealth of clinical detail and unusual insight, the development determinants of traits of Character and their aberration in Neurosis; and she emphasizes the tremendous importance of the apparently insignificant automatisms of childhood for the ultimate destiny of the individual. Thus intricate small details of reconstructed (or recaptured) memory, or vestiges of instinctual orientations, are rehearsed in a way that makes clear how successfully (or otherwise) the genital or anal phases have been weathered, also the surviving importance still attaching to the *oral* sphere, and the necessary adjustments in the process if a normal mind and body is to result, with pitfalls in the way and the chances for marital unhappiness. The ambivalence of desire reflected in the ambivalence of *symbols*, also the punishment meted out to self, for phantasies of injury to others, is justly emphasised. Here the nuclear situation (Oedipus complex) takes on special import. Speculations on the sexual attitudes created by the difference of the sexes, lead to a brisk discussion of the good and bad functions imputed to the world (parent surrogates), the risks to potency through such false leads and beliefs, and the special case for woman's neuroticism from the uniqueness of her sexual role. Stephen follows Klein, Sharpe and Schmiedberg in comprehending the significance of such orientation through penis-

envy attitudes mistakenly understood by previous male analysts. Identification finds emotional advantages in annulling the effects of disappointment, or shame at the first "incestuous" love, that at this stage "leaves its mark for life and colors all his later love relations." One is inclined to think that the supposed danger from these shocks or jars, and no less the jealousies and rage typical of certain situations, may be exaggerated for the normal type. although admittedly the constitutionally predisposed have a harder time at adjustment, or (through dissociation) never grow up.

Anxiety and guilt are given due place for the development of subsequent disease; the inability to accept disappointment and the need to castigate self to protect from deeper humiliations. The three anxiety stages are separated, all converging in *castration* dread; for the pleasures reacted-to with strong feeling in early life, are singled out for especial violence in countermeasures later.

The mechanisms employed by the Unconscious are detailed a little superficially, but the five reasons for its functioning as it does are pithily stated; its precarious hold on reality, as instanced in delirium delusion and dream, emphasising the 'reasonableness' of all its process, albeit on a primitive level.

Primitive sexuality is ingeniously portrayed, with the wish (of which the patient is unaware) underlying all the neurotic features of later life. Only the surprising memory of the analytic recession proves the richness if this source of traumatic phantasy and reality material. She finds the need to quote but 5 authorities. There is no index.

P. Lionel Goitein

Woodbourne, N. Y.